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- * Clausura de la Reunión Continental
- * Resistencia y Lucha contra el Neoliberalismo
- * Mujeres Indígenas
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8 de Marzo en San Cristóbal, Chiapas
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LOVE & RAGE

REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHIST NEWSPAPER

FIERCE WOMEN AROUND THE WORLD!

Norma Jean Croy Free
Bo Brown Interview, Part 2
Tribute to Judi Bari
Women in the Global Economy
and more...

Volume 8, Number 2

March / April 1997

\$1

By LAURA

Norma Jean Croy Free!



Norma Jean Croy outside Chowchilla Prison surrounded by friends and supporters upon her release February 7.

After several days of nerve wracking suspense and 19 years of incarceration, Norma Jean Croy was freed on Friday, February 7th at 1:30PM (PST). Her lawyer and several of her supporters met her at the Chowchilla, CA prison to pick her up. Norm is now adjusting to life on the outside in Oakland, Ca, surrounded by friends and supporters. She tells us, "It's great to be out! Thanks to everyone for all the support you've given over all these years."

BACKGROUND ON NORMA JEAN'S CASE

In 1978 Norma Jean, her brother Patrick "Hooty" Croy, and three other relatives stopped at a convenience store on their way to their grandfather's cabin to go hunting. Following an altercation initiated by the store clerk, local police chased Norma Jean and the others as they headed out of town. When

(Continued to page 17)

STATEMENT FROM BO BROWN FOR NORMA JEAN'S DEFENSE COMMITTEE

Adjusting to life out here in minimum security land is like learning to live on another planet. Some things are very familiar but other things are extremely strange. Like the incredible number of billboards and posters everywhere that encourage everybody to drink alcohol and get stupid all the time. Sensory overload surrounds us.

Living in prison is somehow similar to living in a war zone and there are similar effects to the psyche. Post-traumatic shock affects all survivors of such intense situations. It is a reality for

(Continued to page 17)

Students Resist Attempt to Close UDC Budget Cuts Threaten Access to College for Most DC Residents

By BRAD

On Martin Luther King Day in Washington DC, about 200 students marched for two miles from the University of the District of Columbia (UDC) to the MLK library. Some students carried a coffin and wore shackles to symbolize the death of their school and the lack of freedom they face with no chance for an education. They were marching as part of a last-ditch fight for their future. The federally-appointed Control Board that rules over DC is considering shutting down UDC entirely, leaving no public college that is accessible to the vast majority of DC residents, who are overwhelmingly working class and poor people of color. If they don't shut it down entirely, they'll try to gut it by turning it into a two-year college or a technical school.

UDC'S HISTORY

UDC was formed at the tail end of the movements for civil rights and Black liberation during the 1960s and 70s. Initially, many of the faculty and staff positions were held by veterans of the civil rights movement. The mission of UDC, they held, was accessible education for poor people, and education toward the end of liberation: to help raise the political consciousness and self-activity of the Black community in DC.

Formed as the civil rights movement was receding, UDC institutionalized the gains of that movement. But it did this in a context where there wasn't a mass movement to defend it politically against attacks by the right wing and by the capitalist

business sector. This made it a contradictory institution from the start.

UDC was forming around the same time that the DC government was institutionalizing Home Rule (a compromise measure that is half way between colonialism and statehood). The Home Rule system of local government allowed DC residents to elect a mayor and city council, but not to have votes in the US Congress. The federal government retains ultimate right to approve DC's annual budget, and control over the amount of the "federal payment" to DC--the payment the federal government gives to DC annually for the strain on its resources (and loss of taxable property) created by the huge federal presence.

POLITICAL CHAOS AT UDC

The receding mass movement and the newly institutionalized Black mayor and city council, combined to lead those elected leaders to lose touch with and accountability to the people and movements that put them in office. In this context, the mayor and council used UDC as a political dumping ground--giving out positions on the board of trustees to friends or allies as political favors, and generally diluting the original mission of UDC.

The Home Rule elected leaders found out quickly that they had to answer more to the people above them in the federal government than to the people of DC. They found they could get away with giving jobs in the bureaucracy (the local government bureaucracy and UDC's bureaucracy) to a few thousand people as a sort of patronage to buy off their votes. In the absence of a

mass movement, giving a few thousand jobs to DC residents was enough to get re-elected. It wasn't until immediately after Marion Barry re-captured the Mayor's office in 1994 and announced that the District's finances were far worse than anyone thought, that we saw how frail the whole Home Rule set up was. It felt like a house of cards when the newly-elected Republican-controlled Congress and President Clinton jointly ended Home Rule and put DC into receivership under the control of a federally-appointed Control Board. There was no vote by DC citizens; there wasn't even approval by the elected officials. It was imposed by the federal govern-

ment--exposing once and for all the fallacy of Home Rule.

WHO UDC EDUCATES

UDC is one of the few places in the US where poor people of color can fairly cheaply and easily get a college education. It has an open admissions policy: any high school graduate in DC is eligible to enroll in UDC. Since DC's population is over 70% Black and is one of the poorest in the nation, this meant that UDC's mission would automatically be to educate poor and

(Continued to Page 17)



UDC Students march on January 15, Martin Luther King Day.



Members of the Cardenista Campesino Organization march for peace.

Mexican Army Set to Ambush EZLN

By ROY AND PAUL

In the last few months the Mexican government has taken a threatening military posture in Chiapas. Overflights of reconnaissance planes and artillery-laden helicopters, as well as troop movements of the Federal Army taking up new positions in the so-called "conflict zone," have increased dramatically. According to sources within the National Intermediating Commission (Conai), there are now two military encampments on the fringes of every Zapatista community in the Patihuitz canyon. The Army has been discovered practicing "ambushes" - military exercises which seem to confirm Subcommandante Marcos' statement on January 24th that the

army is "practicing the surgical strike over and over again" in preparation for an all-out military offensive. Troop movements through the Tojolabal community of La Realidad have more than doubled, increasing from convoys of 100 soldiers every other day to 170 each day.

This military escalation by the Mexican state has been accompanied by threatening declarations, such as that made on January 14th by the official spokesperson of President Zedillo, suggesting that "for now" the government has no intention of carrying out military operations in Chiapas, leaving open the possibility that such a decision could change at any moment. The military build up comes on the heels of the

EZLN's rejection of the government counter-proposal for constitutional reforms on indigenous rights and culture. In response to this "crisis within a crisis" in Zapatista territory, solidarity groups demonstrated at Mexican government targets worldwide in early February.

COCOPA

One obstacle to the resumption of dialogue between the Zapatistas and the Government has been the government's refusal to respect the Agreements on Indigenous Rights and Culture that was signed by both the EZLN and the Mexican Government in

What is Love & Rage?

Love and Rage is the English-language newspaper of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation, an organization made up of groups and individuals in Canada, Mexico and the US who share a set of common politics and who work on political projects together. *Love and Rage* is produced by a Production Group in New York City. The Production Group is made up of volunteers and one full-time staff person. *Love and Rage* is one of the many projects of the Federation, which also produces the Spanish-language *Amor y Rabia* in Mexico City, and supports and initiates various actions and campaigns.

Major decisions and overall policies of the Federation are set by an annual conference, or between conferences by the Federation Council.

The Federation is not a closed circle of friends. You can join *Love and Rage* and participate fully in the decision-making process. If you are in general agreement with the stated politics of the Federation and are interested in getting involved, contact the Federation Office or your local contact. Even if you do not wish to be a member of the Federation you may participate in *Love and Rage* projects. Please contact us.

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Boring Disclaimer

The articles we print do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Federation or of any member of the Federation, unless specifically marked. Sometimes we print articles we don't agree with, because we believe that they are interesting, provocative, or raise important issues for the revolutionary movement. Some articles represent one view among many views held by *Love & Rage* members on a topic.

Submit to *Love & Rage*

We encourage you to submit material for publication. Shorter articles are more likely to be printed. 1750 words, a full newspaper page, is a long article. Submissions may be edited. Please include a phone number and address or email address so we can consult you on editing. Articles not printed may be sent to our internal bulletin unless otherwise noted. All letters will be considered for publication unless there is a request that they not be published. Letters will not be edited.

About Our Politics...

The *Love and Rage* Revolutionary Anarchist Federation is in the process of developing a statement of our common politics (yeah, it's a long process). The following introduction to our old Political Statement gives an idea of where we are coming from.

Love and Rage is a bi-monthly anarchist newspaper intended to foster revolutionary anti-authoritarian activism in North America and build a more effective and better-organized anarchist movement. We will provide coverage of social struggles, world events, anarchist actions, and cultures of resistance. We will support the struggles of oppressed peoples around the world for control over their own lives. Anarchy offers the broadest possible critique of domination, making possible a framework for unity in all struggles for liberation. We seek to understand the systems we live under for ourselves and reject any pre-packaged ideology. Anarchism is a living body of theory and practice connected directly to the lived experiences of oppressed people fighting for their own liberation. We anticipate the radical and on-going revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process.



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Love & Rage

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Women: Targets of Global Exploitation. Let's Fight Back!

Two-thirds of all the work in the world is done by women. Women in the Third World sew the clothes, put together the stereos, and produce the food for people in the First World. But a hard day's labor is still considered a masculine thing. It is the invisibility of women's labor, along with women's isolation from each other, that keeps the exploitation of women going. Patriarchal exploitation has fed the expansion of capitalism for hundreds of years. On top of the work women do to support themselves and children, women do unwaged work like cooking, cleaning, and taking care of kids. This work makes it possible for themselves, husbands and boyfriends, and future generations to go out and work. Bosses profit from this unwaged labor but women remain economically dependent on men.

tions for whatever they can get, just to survive. "Workfare" programs are growing all over the United States. In New York City, welfare recipients must pick up trash in parks and clean toilets in office buildings, with no safety gear or winter coats—or even adequate child care—simply to be eligible for their welfare checks of a few hundred dollars a month. Private companies will soon be able to take advantage of these nearly free workers.

Like poor women in the US, women in underdeveloped countries are being used more and more as a source of cheap labor. Since the 1970s, when it became clear that the boom period following World War II was over, large corporations have

which they deserve a living wage. Many women do "piecework," such as lace-making, at home in what is presumed to be their spare time, for what is described as 'a little extra money.'

Powerful transnational companies seek to control almost every aspect of the lives of their female employees. Women factory workers often live in dormitories or in the plant itself. American and Japanese electronics factory owners in Malaysia only hire women younger than 25, who are "just working until they get married." These young women are under pressure from

argument that poor women having too many kids is what causes poverty in the United States. Women are blamed and women are punished for a situation that is bad for them to begin with. Governments asking for loans from the World Bank are pressured to take action to reduce "fertility," a notion that conceives of women as mindless breeders. Women, especially in India and Bangladesh, have been used as guinea pigs for new contraception devices.

In Puerto Rico, one third of the women were sterilized, many without the knowledge that the procedure was irreversible. Women all over the world bear the brunt of cutbacks and austerity measures. The International Monetary Fund requires governments in debt to keep wages down and cut health and education budgets so they can pay back their loans with interest. Often they can only do this without serious riots breaking out because women find ways to stretch cooking oil and kerosene, soothe male partners and family members, find more

work in the casual sector, and take care of children without medical care.

Single mothers everywhere are punished for living outside heterosexual marriage. But some women have more choices than others. Many middle-class women in Western countries who fought for the right to work outside the home now hire nannies to take care of their kids because there is no child care in the workplace. Many of the nannies are immigrants whose children live far away. In contrast to the power wielded by transnational corporations across national borders, immigrant nannies are faced with immigration laws that make it hard for them to get fair working conditions.

FEMINISM WITHOUT BORDERS

White Western feminists have often assumed that issues important to them are shared by all women, and so have ignored struggles by women of color, poor women, and Third World women. In order to build a feminist movement that will fight for better lives for women all over the world, feminists with relative privilege must have a clear picture of the global system of capitalist patriarchy that exploits us all.

When women organize, we break down the isolation between us and learn more about our own and each other's lives. Feminists need to expand our solidarity to a global level, to create networks across borders and oceans between feminist groups like GABRIELA, which fights sex tourism in the Philippines, Jamaican single mothers confronting the IMF, and workfare workers organizing in New York City. We need to build a movement that will be strong enough to end the exploitation of women in our own communities, and in every community where women make our clothes, produce our food, and put together our stereotypes.★

AND GETTING BLAMED TO BOOT

The idea that "overpopulation" causes Third World poverty is similar to the anti-welfare

moved their factories from the industrialized nations to not-so-industrialized countries in Southeast Asia and Latin America, where low labor costs can keep profits high and prices in the overdeveloped countries low.

WOMEN AS NATURAL RESOURCES

Export Processing Zones illustrate the almost unlimited power and privileges that transnational corporations have when locating their industries in the Third World. Poor countries with high debt to international banks set aside land especially for factories producing goods for the international market. The local governments provide sewers, electricity, ports, runways, tax holidays, police protection, and the most valuable resource of all—women's cheap labor. At least 70% of workers in Export Processing Zones are women.

These women workers perform the most tedious, eye- and back-straining work, for over 50 hours a week, to get only a few dollars a day. Despite the fact that many households are headed by women, development plans define women as housewives, not as workers. Their wage is a "supplementary income" to what the male "breadwinner" supposedly brings home.

Asian women are advertised by their governments, who describe their "nimble fingers" to foreign investors. Women are assumed to sew "naturally;" and textile manufacturers claim their labor does not require any learned skills. Their labor is an "income generating activity," not work for

The continual extraction of wealth from countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America by imperialist forces in countries such as the United States, Japan and those in Western Europe depends on a division of labor between the countries that produce and the countries that consume. One aspect of this relationship is that as the consuming countries take in so many commodities that they become overdeveloped, the producing countries are made poor and are being underdeveloped.

Although imperialism and capitalist patriarchy have been around making people's lives hell for years, the global economy has been going through a restructuring in the past few decades that is called neo-liberalism. The power of transnational corporations to exploit people has expanded across all borders. At the same time, governments everywhere are cutting education and health care, and dismantling social welfare programs while privatizing industries.

In the overdeveloped countries, women and children are being impoverished by the changing economy, which demands a more "flexible" labor force. Women are the first to be pushed out of well-paid, secure jobs and pushed into low-wage, low-security jobs where they're isolated and it's hard for them to organize, such as temp work, part-time jobs, and domestic work.

TAKING UP THE SLACK

All this is being justified by a sexist backlash against women. Conservatives restrict access to abortion and make claims about "family values" based on an ideology that says women's first duty is to be housewives. Other work that women "choose" to do is unimportant compared to the job nature supposedly destined for them.

At the same time, the welfare state is being dismantled. Without a safety net, many women must work under any condi-



600 women took to the streets to protest the Miss Universe Pageant in Manila last May. GABRIELA, a Filipina feminist collective, accused Ramos of pursuing development through sex tourism.

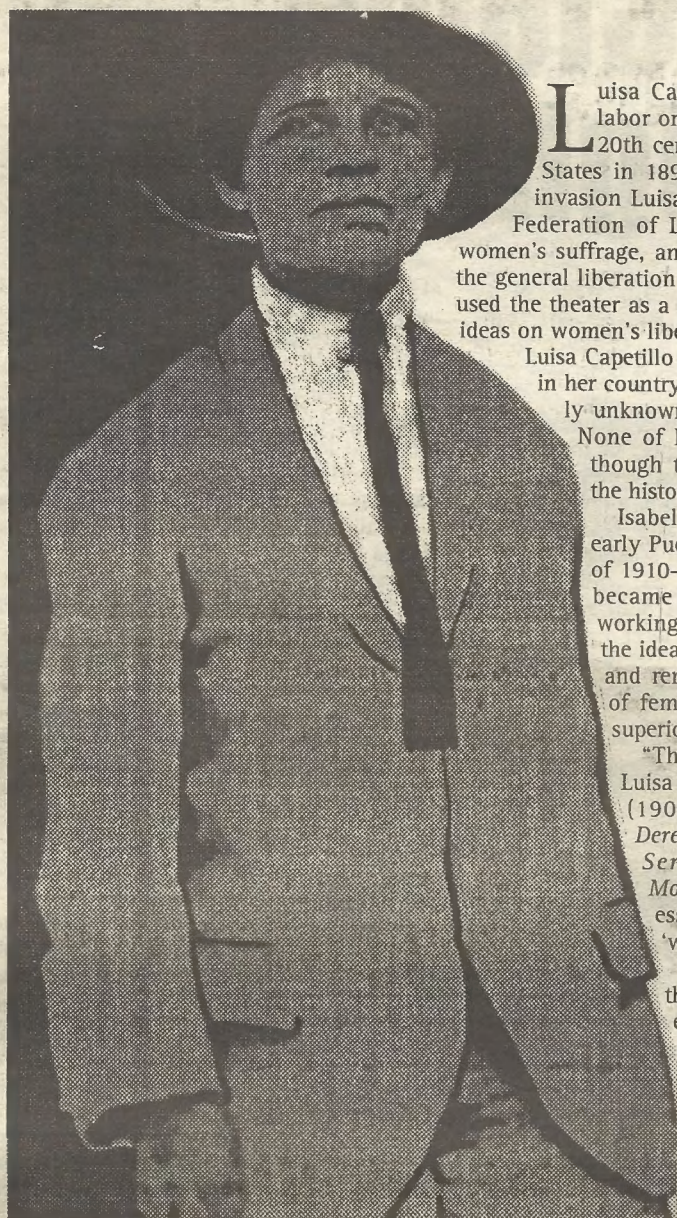
their

families not to try to organize unions, and to marry in order to escape the factories. But they are sexualized by factory owners who hold beauty pageants where women workers can compete to be the company's beauty queen.

Women are sexually exploited by the tourist industries of many underdeveloped countries, which rely heavily on prostitution. The government of Thailand began offering prostitution to US servicemen on "rest and relaxation" from the Vietnam War. The World Bank advised Thailand to develop tourism in the 1970s, after the US had pulled out of Vietnam. The Thai government passed the Tourism Promotion Law, and since then tourism has grown to be the country's largest industry besides manufacturing. Wealthy businessmen from both East and West come to "exercise their social and economic power by pursuing their sexual fantasies without guilt," in the words of feminist Than Dam-Troug. The police force protects owners of sex establishments and serves to punish and control women sex workers.

Like women everywhere, Third World women resist policies that are meant to control their reproductive capacities. Unlike most women in overdeveloped countries, however, they are not being told to go home and have babies. Since women in underdeveloped countries are producing food for the rest of the world for wages below their own subsistence level, there is not enough food for their children.

Luisa Capetillo: Puerto Rican Anarcha-Feminist



By CHRISTOPHER DAY

Luisa Capetillo was a major anarchist, feminist and labor organizer in Puerto Rico at the beginning of the 20th century. Puerto Rico was invaded by the United States in 1898. In the decades immediately following the invasion Luisa Capetillo helped build the Puerto Rican Free Federation of Labor (FLT), advocated free love, fought for women's suffrage, and through her writings and actions promoted the general liberation of women. She was also active in theater and used the theater as a tool for educating workers and promoting her ideas on women's liberation.

Luisa Capetillo is recognized in Puerto Rico as a major figure in her country's history of social struggles, but she is virtually unknown in the United States even among anarchists. None of her writings have been published in English though they constitute an important early chapter in the history of anarchy-feminism.

Isabel Pico de Hernandez wrote of women in the early Puerto Rican labor movement, "During the period of 1910-1920, some outstanding working-class women became symbols of militant trade unionism. ... As working women, they pronounced a total rejection of the ideal women that prevented their full participation and remuneration in industry. They rejected notions of feminine frailty, weakness, social purity, moral superiority, and passivity."

"The best exponent of the new ideology was Luisa Capetillo in her writings *Ensayos Libertarios* (1904-07), *Mi Opinion Sobre las Libertades, Derechos, de la Mujer como Companera, Madre y Ser Independiente* (1911) and *Influencias Modernas* (1916). This last book is a collection of essays that could well be considered the first 'women's lib' manifesto in Puerto Rico."

Luisa Capetillo was born October 28, 1879 in the city of Arecibo. As a young woman she was exposed to feminist ideas coming from France and the United States and to anarcho-syndicalist ideas from Spain and Cuba. At that time anarchism, not Marxism, was the dominant trend in the workers' movements in most of Latin America. In 1904 her first articles were published in Arecibo. In 1905 she participated in the campesino strike that swept the northern

part of Puerto Rico and was lead by the FLT in Arecibo. According to Pico de Hernandez, she "participated in the formation of the first artisan groups that the Free Federation of Labor organized in urban centers. Later on she participated in a crusade in sugar plantations, raising the class consciousness among workers. She was also a reporter for the newspaper *Union Obrera* and established the journal *La mujer*, devoted to women's issues."

Luisa Capetillo scandalized Puerto Rican society as "the first woman to wear slacks in public in Puerto Rico." This defiant gesture captures the general spirit of all her work. Her influence on Puerto Rican radicalism was significant. Almost twenty years before women won the right to vote in Puerto Rico the Puerto Rican Socialist Party required that "no committee of the party could be organized unless one-third of the members were female." It is difficult to imagine such a requirement without the influence of Luisa Capetillo. In 1912 Luisa Capetillo moved to New York City where she worked on Spanish language workers' newspapers. A year later she moved to Florida where she worked among tobacco workers as she had earlier in Puerto Rico. In 1915 she moved to Havana, Cuba but was deported for her participation in anarcho-syndicalist activities there. The same year she was arrested for wearing pants in public.

Between 1917 and 1919 she participated in a series of major agricultural strikes. In 1919 she returned to New York for another year where she continued her work among cigar workers.

On April 10, 1922 at the age of 42 Luisa Capetillo died of tuberculosis in the Municipal Hospital of Rio Piedras. In 1919 she had visited the Dominican Republic and had made such an impact that the 1922 Mayday parade in Santo Domingo was dedicated to her memory.

In her brief political career Luisa Capetillo had a profound impact. She wrote four books and countless articles for the radical press. While her writings were often powerful and provocative she had her contradictions. Unlike most anarchists she was not an atheist. She sought to reconcile a sort of Tolstoyan notion of Christianity with a ferocious anti-clericalism. While she never repudiated her avowed anarchism, in 1920 she participated in the electoral campaign of her comrade Santiago Iglesias Pantin who ran with the Puerto Rican Socialist Workers Party. In spite of these weaknesses her contributions to the workers' movement and the women's movement in Puerto Rico is undeniable. The hidden history of women like Luisa Capetillo must be brought to light. Her writings, only some of which are in print in Spanish, need to be translated and published in English, as do the works of her biographer Norma Valle Ferrer.★

Women in Zapatista Territory

By JESSICA

We aren't going to ask the government to give us freedom, nor are we going to ask you male fools. We are going to insure our freedom, our respect, and our dignity as women and as human beings.

—Zapatista women paraphrased by Subcomandante Marcos in *Zapatistas! Documents of the New Mexican Revolution*

After visiting the Martyrs of Chicago Anarchist Encampment in Zapatista territory in Chiapas, a North American woman recounted the following story: "During our stay, the women of the village wanted to meet with the visiting women. We arranged to all meet together, and when the time came we gathered outside to talk about our lives and experiences and learn from each other. The men in the village decided that this would be a good time to cut the grass around us with big machetes. As you can imagine this made it very difficult to speak. One female encampment worker suggested that we move to the school house where we could shut the door. After some discussion, the women agreed and marched across the village en masse. The men were shocked that we subverted their attempts at silencing us and stared as we marched past. Once we were inside the school house we were able to talk freely. The women of the village asked us about dating and marriage. They wanted to know how old we were, if we had children, what kind of work we were able to do, and what we studied at school. They told us how they had asserted their rights under the Zapatista's Women's Revolutionary Law to ban drugs and alcohol from their village. They described how men would sometimes spend money on alcohol when it was needed for food and other necessities and how it exacerbated domestic violence problems. It was very powerful to share our experiences as women and to see Zapatista women struggle against sexism within their own community."

The Martyrs of Chicago Anarchist Encampment in Chiapas is a project initiated by Love and Rage/Amor y Rabia members and other anarchists. The encampment consists of a school and a women's clinic and center in an indigenous Tojolabal Indian community deep in the Lacandon

Jungle. The community has been a Zapatista village for thirteen years. [For a more detailed description of the Martyrs of Chicago Anarchist Encampment see Love and Rage Jan/Feb 1997, Volume 8, Number 1.] The encampment selects and shapes its projects in consultation with the community. This can often be a difficult process and

the encampment workers and community members struggle together to resolve conflicts that arise. Many struggles arise around authoritarianism and sexism both within the encampment and the community.

It is important to be clear that it is not the encampment workers mission to "liberate" the indigenous women of Chiapas, nor

would that even be possible. The Zapatistas have repeatedly stated that they are not asking for anyone to give them anything. They are merely taking what is rightfully theirs. In the same way, Zapatista women are not asking outsiders or the men in their own communities for their rights and dignity, they are demanding it through their own self-organization and struggle. The Martyrs of Chicago Anarchist Encampment is participating in this process, while at the same time constantly challenging the sexism and authoritarianism within itself.

One example of how the encampment workers and the villagers struggle together to resolve issues of sexism arose around the way the community got its water. It is the job of the women in the community to go to the spring every day to get the water. The spring is about 200 meters (the length of two football fields) away from the center of the village. The chore of getting water takes up a major part of the day and yet the men of the village refused to help in getting water. After much discussion, the encampment proposed that they build a water system to bring water to the center of town, thus eliminating the conflict. The village agreed and water pipes were laid down. While this solution does not address the fundamental issue of sexism, it does show how creative solutions are being sought to solve deeply entrenched societal problems. Five hundred years of patriarchy is not going to be broken by a few trips to the spring, but at least now the material conditions of women's lives in this village have been improved.

The encampment is also helping women improve the quality of their own lives through health services. A study was conducted of the health needs of the community. They observed that the most serious health problem facing the community was the lack of access to reproductive health services for women. The average family has six or seven children and childbirth is often a dangerous undertaking. Although the community has access to condoms, the men refuse to use them (something that women in North America may find familiar!). As a result many of the women have IUDs, which for many of them are over five-years-old. The women have no IUDs to replace the ones they have and refuse to



Women's Revolutionary Law

The Women's Revolutionary Law was developed by women in dozens of indigenous communities who collectively produced a code of women's rights. The EZLN leadership—the CCRI-CG—unanimously adopted the code as their Women's Law.

1. Women, regardless of their race, creed, color or political affiliation, have the right to participate in the revolutionary struggle in a way determined by their desire and capacity.
2. Women have the right to work and receive a just salary.
3. Women have the right to decide the number of children they will have and care for.
4. Women have the right to participate in the affairs of the community and hold positions of authority if they are

freely and democratically elected.

5. Women and their children have the right to primary attention in matters of health and nutrition.
6. Women have the right to an education.
7. Women have the right to choose their partner, and are not to be forced into marriage.
8. Women shall not be beaten or physically mistreated by their family members or by strangers. Rape and attempted rape will be severely punished.
9. Women will be able to occupy positions of leadership in the organization and hold military ranks in the revolutionary armed forces.
10. Women will have all the rights and obligations elaborated in the Revolutionary Laws and regulations.★

(Continued to page 16)

First Pity Then Punishment The History of Women and Welfare

The welfare state is a product of capitalism - not an alternative to it - yet many leftists, including communists and anarchists, are currently involved in struggles to defend it. Is this a contradiction? At the same time, many opponents of welfare are often described by some as anti-government "anarchists" because they're generally against "government intervention." Of course there's no real puzzle here: The people posing as "anti-government reformers" or even "anarchists" are actually two groups: the leaders are old style "robber-baron" capitalists who don't want the government to interfere with freedom of profit, and the others are fed-up tax payers whose "anti-government" ideas against welfare, taxes, and social programs might be better described as a revolt against communal values in general. This group doesn't want scant resources being spent on "other" "less-deserving" people.

Welfare states might be seen as a way of applying small village values of mutual aid to modern nation states. The big difference is that in small villages you share resources with neighbors and friends; in welfare states you seem to be "giving to strangers." Americans in general (not just robber

The political leaders who currently pose as "anti-government" rebels are busy planning a near police state for welfare recipients.

barons) have been convinced that "giving to strangers" is too much to ask.

These anti-welfare attitudes are varieties of individualism and the opposite of anarchism as we understand it. Anti-authoritarian politics are not "anti-communal," or "anti-welfare." Anarchists have long supported systems of mutual aid, and that's what welfare, public education, and nationalized health care could be. The problem with traditional, localized models of mutual aid is that they often go hand-in-hand with rigid social control. In small traditional villages, which some anarchists want to return to, conditions were not "free" by today's standards but based on rigid patriarchal authority. Back in the old days in England, for instance, whole communities would get together to beat unwed pregnant women in hopes that they would have miscarriages. They did this because illegitimate children were the responsibility of the entire town. One of the big questions for modern anarchist revolutionaries is how to develop a system of mutual aid without recreating a state structure or smaller-scale but more authoritarian village life.

BIG, MEAN GOVERNMENT

Anarchism is not "anti-communal," and neither are the so-called welfare reform bills "anti-government" at all. The political leaders who currently pose as "anti-government" rebels are busy planning a near police state for welfare recipients. Like old-style villagers, their stated goal is to "reduce illegitimacy," and their methods are even more punitive because they work on a larger scale. AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children), a program designed to serve single mothers, is the main program under attack in the so-called welfare reform bill. Coercive paternity testing for women applying for AFDC, denial of funds to pregnant teens and immigrants, mandatory work for mothers after the child is two years old, not to mention continuous testing of female recipients for drugs, "sexual immorality," deception and fraud are all parts of this "anti-government" package. This bill gives states responsibility to distribute money, financially rewards states for cutting people off the welfare rolls, and ends in one blow the entire federal welfare program.

Shifting welfare administration to states seems like it might be more democratic but it's actually not because local businesses can flee states where welfare benefits give their potential employees too much bargaining power. These corporations aren't so much against "welfare dependence" as they are for workers' total dependence on them for jobs. And the incentive to trim the welfare rolls encourages states to "race to the bottom" as they compete to chase poor people away.

Because of our belief in mutual aid, anarchists have a lot to contribute to the debate around the welfare system, which

has become limited to two views: one a defense of the "social safety net" or "welfare state," the other an attack on the poor. Historian Linda Gordon's arguments, presented in her talk "How Welfare Became a Dirty Word" and her 1994 book *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare*, while coming from a social-democratic position, should be required reading for every activist, because they clarify the history of the current welfare system. Her analysis of the history of welfare from its origins in the 1890s to its institutionalization in the 1930s shows how ideas about gender, class, and race combined to create a "two-tiered welfare" system which has always made some kinds of public spending (Social Security and unemployment insurance) seem like "rights" for everyone, while stigmatizing aid to single mothers.

First of all, Gordon defines welfare more broadly than many of the loudest voices in the "welfare reform debate." She considers not only Social Security and unemployment insurance as welfare, but also tax benefits to corporations, public schools, sidewalks, roads, public parks, and almost all other public spending done in the interest of public "welfare." Gordon uses convincing statistics to back up her claims as well, pointing out that AFDC only takes up about 1% of the annual federal budget!

Most of Gordon's book is dedicated to explaining not why we should defend the current welfare system, but why we must change it. She asks, "why was AFDC, designed by feminists, so bad for women and children?" and finds that the current system of welfare is based on the idea of the "family wage" - the ideal of men supporting a dependent wife and children - and for this reason the system has punished single mothers who it sees as temporarily desperate and in need of assistance from the more fortunate.

The founders of our current welfare system were mostly elite women social reformers of the 1890s and 1900s who started the program known as "mother's aid" - the first ever welfare program. It was run on a state level to "rescue" unwed mothers and their children. Some of the women were associated with socialism, others with feminism, some with both, and they opposed the terrible conditions that children faced in orphanages. Before the days of welfare, women had to give up their children to orphanages because they couldn't support them. Many of these orphanages had mortality rates above 50%.

Showing that women's understandings of "gender" can be closer to those of men of their own class than those of other women, Gordon explains how these wealthy women used the existing gender system to gain power through men while helping "needy sisters" in a limited way. They advocated a view of women as sources of social pity and compassion, while men constructed male-centered welfare systems around the concepts of rights and earned entitlements. The welfare system was also structured in a way to make Black workers invisible, cutting both "domestic workers" and agricultural laborers out of Social Security benefits and unemployment insurance, so that they would only qualify on the basis of need - for AFDC, a program administered through local and state governments.

Early welfare activists demanded public assistance for single mothers because they saw single-motherhood as a social problem, dangerous to families and society in general. AFDC was designed to save families

from utter destitution, and society from the ills of poverty. Welfare payments were supposed to help women move on by getting married or moving in with relatives; they weren't supposed to be enough for her to make it on her own, which in the reformers' eyes, would only encourage "immorality." From its very beginning then, the welfare system has operated to perpetuate poverty, a state of affairs otherwise known as "welfare dependence."

Because aid was given not on the basis of single mothers' right to good childcare and health, but on the basis of their supposedly temporary desperate need, AFDC required "means testing" of applicants. This "means testing" forces potential welfare recipients to get rid of assets and resources in order to qualify as "truly needy." Gordon

While Gordon ultimately comes out in favor of the Communist Party-inspired "Lundeen" bill which would have granted universal welfare similar to programs existing in Europe, she doesn't argue that this bill was truly Communist, nor does she seem to offer a truly anti-capitalist alternative to the welfare state in her book. Gordon supports many social movements such as the National Welfare Rights Organization and the Communist Party's "unemployed councils," but she never goes beyond the goal of preserving a welfare system within capitalism.

It's in the context of welfare rights movements that anarchists and other revolutionaries need to enter the discussion more forcefully. We should step up our efforts to help build movements fighting for



points out that people can be rich and still get old age pensions - why should AFDC be any different? Means testing continues throughout the system, so that if people make more money, their welfare stipend is reduced. AFDC was unlike every other program because it wasn't designed, as were social security and old-age pensions, to "prevent poverty," but to prevent "pauperism," a situation of moral degeneracy believed to adhere to all single moms and their children.

Current welfare "reformers" wouldn't change this basic system of means testing for AFDC. They would merely increase the punitive treatment of single moms, against whom they use both gendered and racial stereotypes. Remember when Dan Quayle blamed the L.A. riots on Murphy Brown? It's the same basic logic here: zero tolerance for single moms. Democrats and Republicans are in fundamental agreement that single parent families are a sign of general moral decline; they now battle only over whether to pity or blame the victim.

HOW WELFARE WAS WON

But without early social reformers, misguided as they were, there would never have been an AFDC program. Medicaid and public schooling initiatives, Gordon reveals, can be similarly credited to Black women activists' agitation during this time period. Gordon shows how the pressure from social movements in the 1930s played a major part in the passage of the 1935 Social Security Act. She describes many demonstrations, letters from citizens, third party efforts, and individual acts of resistance that added up to a 1930s "pro-welfare political culture," in striking contrast with today's popular perception of federal aid. Gordon also describes successful protests by people on relief when benefits were cut in Detroit and Harlem. People gained, explains Gordon, a sense of entitlement to relief payments. One woman even sued her case worker for "attempted starvation of her family." Another family held their caseworker hostage on a home visit. In most cases, these folks got what they wanted and no jail time.

programs of mutual aid, and to put forward the general vision of a society with free education, free health care, and enough food to go around. But we should never forget as we defend a communal value system that it is capitalism itself and the greed at its core that stands in the way of realizing values of mutual aid. We need to keep movement towards long-term solutions in mind, even while working with groups focused on short-term measures.

The problem with welfare isn't just the belief in the family wage, but the notion that wage-slavery is a natural and irremediable state of affairs. Capitalism creates its own surplus labor pool (the unemployed) in order to keep wages low. While Gordon might privately advocate a view that capitalism needs to be overthrown, her own support of what she calls the "moral capitalism" of Europe and the US 1930s movements mirrors the accommodationist stance of the 1930s women reformers she criticizes. By lining up with their race and class allies in the battle over the 1935 Social Security Act, these women didn't gradually get more people included as the years passed, but merely set in stone an inadequate system that stigmatized and failed those whom it set out to help.

Welfare struggles are important to support because they assert a person's right to decent food and shelter, as well as our responsibility towards one another as human beings. But the kind of 'mutual aid' where the well-off give to the poor isn't enough; the real struggle is against class division itself. But keeping this larger goal in mind doesn't mean we shouldn't work with welfare groups or argue for the value of "giving to strangers" while we live in a class society. It is up to us as anarchists and revolutionaries to think and act in a way that doesn't count on an increase in poverty and despair as the spur of potentially revolutionary social collapse. In this age of anti-social individualism, welfare rights struggles, which shore up values of mutual aid and community, are an important part of the battle against right-wing revolution.★

ARA EVERYWHERE

ANTI-RACIST ACTION REPORTS



Queers defend Montreal from HLI in April, 1995

Unite to Fight HLIars!

Run Human Life International Out of Minneapolis April 16-20

ARA Minneapolis is spearheading a coalition to oppose HLI (Human Life International)'s world conference scheduled for April 16-20. HLI is an international, sex-obsessed, anti-choice, racist, Catholic organization. Their stance on issues such as women's rights, homosexuality, reproductive rights, and contraception would be safely described as right-wing extremist, if not fascist. (For a more in-depth article on HLI's politics, see Love and Rage May/June and Aug/Sept. 95, Vol. 6 Nos. 3 and 4.) On the surface HLI does not appear to be a direct action anti-abortion organization, but one of the key speakers at their convention will be Chicago-based Catholic anti-abortion terrorist Joseph Scheidler, who advocates attacks against clinics and providers.

Also part of the HLI ambush of Minneapolis is a full day seminar for health professionals sponsored by the University of Minnesota Program in Human Rights and Medicine, housed in the OB/GYN department. Because of the efforts of some stealthy antichoiceers who have safely installed themselves in the U of MN medical school, medical professionals can actually get credit for this all day brainwashing session toward updating their certification, as if this clearly political seminar were an advancement in the field. Three OB/GYNs from the University will be speaking at the HLI conference. Resistance to this particular outrage is in the planning stages.

HLI held their world conference in

Montreal in the spring of 1995 where they were met with a fierce opposition five thousand strong. Minneapolis ARA is trying to build a broad coalition in the Twin Cities to make sure they get just as warm a reception here. Help them expose these freaks and defend yourself against their assault on women, immigrants and queers.

Below is a sampling of views taken from delegates and speakers at HLI's Montreal conference:

On Homosexuality:

"Homosexuality does not serve life but death." —Dr. Alice Von Hildebrand

"In a homosexual union there is no purpose... I hate the word gay. There is nothing gay or happy about homosexuals. It's a tragic lifestyle... Hitler was brought to power by the Homosexuals." —Judith Reisman, author of *Kinsey, Sex & Fraud*

"Gays are being manipulated in their own destruction. They just don't know it yet." —Stanley K. Monteih, author of *AIDS: The Unnecessary Epidemic*

On Immigration:

Edward King, head of HLI's Montreal chapter in an interview with Newswatch: "If we don't reproduce, immigrants will have to come in to fill the (population needs)." Reporter: "Why is that a bad thing?" King: "Well, it just is."

On the Urge:

"Either we control sex or it controls us... The moment sex stops being a servant, it becomes a tyrant." —Von Hildebrand★

International Women's Day in Toronto

There is tons that could be said about the relationship between feminism and anti-fascism. But as a group, we have never focused on figuring out the relationships, and while this may be a weakness, it is consistent with our overall emphasis on public activist work rather than political analysis. Having said that, we would like to report on our involvement, past and present, with International Women's Day, (IWD) held every year on or about March 8. In Toronto, IWD is marked by a march and a fair of political organizations and women-owned businesses. ARA (Toronto) participates in the events and since 1995, women in ARA have taken on projects to expand our knowledge of women's roles under fascism, and also in the anti-fascist struggle. This year, we plan a presentation about the Christian Right. The Promise Keepers and other like-minded cults escape serious attention here in eastern Canada, and we want to encourage vigilance and activism among women and our allies. Russ Bellant (who spoke at the ARA Conference in Columbus this past fall), has agreed to come up and pass on some of the knowledge, and we have a mixed crew researching the subject. We will also be doing a presentation on the far-right in Kitchener-Waterloo (a small city north of Toronto) as part of their International Women's Week. In 1995, we put together a research package exposing and detailing neo-nazi involvement in the anti-choice movement. In 1996, we aired an hour-long radio show "Women Fighting Fascism Across the Continent", featuring interviews with women anti-fascist and pro-choice activists in Vancouver, Halifax, Detroit and Toronto.★

Minneapolis ARA Takes on Immigrant Bashers

In Rochester, MN there have been four violent attacks against the Somali immigrant community in the last five months. They have all involved white teens. A crew of racist youth called the "All American Boys" who have been an obvious racist presence in the Rochester area were involved in at least one of the beat downs. Three of the beatings were against Somali youth and one against a 64-year-old man. The most recent incident involved a young Somali teen, attacked while on his paper route.

In an attempt to raise awareness about the possibilities of anti-racist unity and activity in youth scenes, ARA Minneapolis went down to Rochester to do outreach and flyer high schools and local youth hang-outs and also just to learn more about the situation.

What we discovered was a lot of people really concerned about the racial tensions and a curiosity about the possibilities for action. We also learned that nazi skinheads from the Twin Cities had gone down to organize in Rochester. They held a rally in downtown Rochester that was attended by 60+ All American Boys and opposed by a dozen anti-racist youth who were threatened and harassed by both the nazis and the cops.

A week later ARA Minneapolis went down to Rochester to table at a local punk show attended by about 200. The ARA table was a positive attraction and we again got a chance to dialog more with Rochester youth about ARA politics and strategy. There are plans to return in the future.★

Eliminate Nazis in Detroit

Detroit ARA is currently involved in a campaign to shut down (by any means necessary) a white-power music club located in a poor, working-class Black neighborhood on Detroit's East Side.

The club, which is run by neo-nazis with connections to Resistance Records magazine, is being used as a concert and social gathering space to recruit racist white youth into the fascist movement. On New Year's Eve nazi skinheads were seen shooting off guns and yelling white power slogans. They also chased a Black passerby.

In response, Detroit ARA has gone door to door in that neighborhood with a leaflet alerting folks to the danger and offering ARA as a contact for those who want to take action. So far over 50 people have signed up to be involved in the campaign, including the manager of a pizzeria who has been sending out ARA flyers with his pizza deliveries.

Neighborhood opinions of how to deal with the club vary, but many people, especially youth, are extremely militant. Already the club has been fired on twice.

Multi-racial ARA crews have also leafleted a grocery store, high school, and a Black lesbian/gay bar in close vicinity of the club. Next ARA plans to hold a community meeting to explore different strategies for eliminating the nazi presence in Detroit.★

Lessons From German Anti-Fascism

By THE AUTONOME ANTIFA (M)

As part of an ongoing contribution from the Autonome Antifa (M), we will report on contemporary discussions and actions within the anti-fascist movement—and to some degree within the left in general—in Germany. We hope to share our experience in revolutionary politics with the North American movement. Although the social conditions and situation differs on this side of the Atlantic, a cross-continental exchange is useful in building a truly internationalist movement. Our hope is that this exchange will be helpful for the North American progressive movement: that the mistakes of the autonomist movement in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) aren't repeated and that the successful points will be integrated to the extent that it makes sense in the North American context.



To understand the discussion within the anti-fascist movement, it is necessary to look at the situation in the FRG in general and of the radical left in particular.

AFTER THE FALL OF STATE SOCIALISM

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in November 1989, and the breakdown of the Soviet Union and other so-called socialist countries in Eastern Europe, the left in the FRG was thrown into crisis. State Socialism offered an alternative to the capitalist system (an alternative that has been rightly criticized for a plethora of reasons!). Nonetheless, it embodied a different way of organizing society and provided an opposite pole

to the superpower USA. This pole was important in the development of the social welfare state in the FRG. Bordering on the German Democratic Republic (GDR), the FRG was confronted with pressure from outside—the existence of a threatening alternative. The social welfare system has been important in retaining social order by softening the harshness of capitalism in the FRG.

Since the disappearance of State Socialism, there is no opposite pole to check the course of capitalist exploitation. The FRG has wasted no time in dismantling its welfare system, removing protections for work conditions and wages,

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Columbus ARA★

Tribute to Earth First!'s Judi Bari

By ALICIA LITTLETREE

"I knew it was a bomb the second it exploded. I felt it rip through me with a force more terrible than anything I could imagine...I woke up in the hospital 12 hours later groggy and confused from shock and morphine...As my eyes gradually focused I made out two figures standing over me. They were cops... 'You are under arrest for possession of explosives,' one of them said."

--Judi Bari
from *Timber Wars*

When Judi Bari joined up with Earth First! in 1987, she brought with her a lifetime of experience and principles that would take the movement by storm. A full-time carpenter and single mother of two, Bari was a far cry from the then-prevalent stereotype of the beer guzzling patriotic "Rednecks for Wilderness." From day one, she fought to change entrenched reactionary ideas within the decentralized organization, using her humor and innovation. At the 1989 Round River Rendezvous, EF!'s rambunctious annual gathering, she and others led a revolt against the flag-wavers by insisting that the American flag was a symbol of violence and repression, and had no place at the central camp of a revolutionary movement. The confrontation ended with a burning of the stars and stripes, and it was retired as an EF! banner.

Change within the movement came hard. Bari was an upstart, and a working-class woman, who challenged deeply-held assumptions in Earth First! She revolutionized the radical environmental movement by introducing concepts of class struggle, feminism, and social justice to people who would risk their bodies to defend the Earth. To those who claimed they loved the wild and loved this country, she asked the question, "How can one oppose the destruction of nature and not address the society that is destroying it?"

Bari made it clear that these issues are "neither separate from, nor subordinate to, the destruction of the Earth." In an essay titled "Revolutionary Ecology," Judi writes, "The same forces that manifest themselves as resource extraction in the countryside manifest themselves as environmental racism in the cities."

Though controversial, change came swiftly. In March 1990, Earth First! in Northern California and Southern Oregon issued a formal statement renouncing tree-spiking. Touted for years as the most effective way to save wilderness by EF! diehards, the rationale behind spiking was based on a flawed principle: that the logging corporations would put the safety of their employees before their hunger for profits. Bari, who got her political education as a blue-collar worker and union organizer, knew it was a rare employee who loved their corporate boss. She recognized the potential for an alliance between environmental activists and loggers and mill workers in the struggle against the huge multinational timber corporations. Tree-spiking stood squarely in the way of this alliance.

The renunciation of tree spiking opened the door for a new level of community organizing by Earth First! in Northern California. Judi forged an open coalition with the timber workers, organizing under the banner of the historic Industrial Workers of the World, or Wobblies. At the height of the coalition, IWW Local #1 had workers from all three of the big timber companies: Georgia Pacific, Louisiana Pacific, and MAXXAM/Pacific Lumber.

Timber workers actively spoke out to stop the destruction of the forests on which their livelihoods and communities are based. To the corporations, who dumped millions of dollars into a campaign to drive a permanent wedge between the environmental and working communities by insisting that environmentalists were taking away timber jobs and "locking up" the forest from logging, this coalition was a serious threat.

At the same time, Earth First! in Northern California was gearing up for Redwood Summer, a summer-long campaign modeled on the courageous Mississippi Freedom Summer of the 1960s, to bring thousands of activists from around the country to the redwood region to defend old growth trees through non-violent direct action. Overharvesting of the forests was progressing at a furious pace, as the corporations

scrambled to clear every acre of timber before strict logging restrictions came up for a vote in the fall. Response to Earth First!'s call to action was overwhelming. By May 1990, Bari and the other Redwood Summer organizers were straining to keep up with requests for information, media interviews, planning meetings, and pledges of support.

In the midst of this chaos, Bari began to receive a series of increasingly terrifying death threats. The most chilling was a photo of her at a demonstration with a rifle scope and cross hairs drawn over her face. Never before had she received death threats, nor has she received any since.

On May 24, 1990, Bari and fellow EF! organizer and musician Darryl Cherney were driving through Oakland, California, on their way to a Redwood Summer organizing event in Santa Cruz, when a pipe-bomb exploded under Bari's car seat. The bomb ripped through her body, blasted a huge hole in the car's floorboard and twisted the metal frame above her head. Cherney suffered minor injuries, but Bari's pelvis was shattered, her back was broken, and her right leg permanently paralyzed. Within 15 minutes the FBI Terrorist Squad arrived at the bombing scene. Within three hours, in defiance of all the evidence, Bari was placed under arrest for transporting the bomb that had been used to try to kill her. Cherney was arrested within 12 hours of the blast.

"The media had a field day with this news, as the FBI and the Oakland Police Department provided them with the images they needed to make it look like they had busted up a ring of terrorists," writes Judi of the press smear that followed the bombing attack. For eight weeks, Earth First!, Judi and Darryl were dragged across the headlines of every newspaper in the country as mad terrorist bombers. Employing the methods of COINTELPRO, the FBI's notorious counter-intelligence program, the FBI used this attempt on Judi's life to sow fear and mistrust of Earth First! in the minds of the public and to connect the environmental movement with bombs. The actual physical evidence, however, paints a very different picture: that Bari and Cherney were in fact the targets of the bombing.

In their haste to blame the pair, the media neglected to mention that the bomb was triggered by a motion device, and that it was hidden from sight directly under the driver's seat. After eight weeks, however, the FBI and OPD couldn't come up with enough evidence to press charges. Nevertheless, to this day, Judi and Darryl remain the only suspects in the bombing; and the bomber remains at large.

The movement mobilized swiftly in response to the bombing. Over 3,000 people came to Redwood Summer, many of them social activists who were brought into the ecological struggle by the FBI's blatant abuses in Bari's case. In 1991, Bari and Cherney filed a civil lawsuit in Federal Court charging the FBI and OPD with false arrest and other civil rights violations. Despite the many attempts by the agencies

to have Bari's civil case thrown out, Bari vs. the United States of America has survived based on the strength of the evidence that supports her charges against them. It is currently making its way to trial.

Earth First! has made it through as well. Though we took a tremendous hit in 1990, we've come back bigger and stronger every season since. On September 15, 1996, over 6,000 of us rallied in defense of the ancient redwoods of Headwaters Forest. The demonstration, in which 1,033 people were arrested crossing Pacific Lumber's property line, was followed by two solid months of direct action. We've already begun self-criticism and planning for the next season of actions. So the struggle continues, in court and on the front lines.

One might think that, with the bombing and her subsequent arrest, Judi Bari has endured more than her share of pain and suffering in this life. But in October 1996, while the Headwaters action camp was in full swing, Bari was diagnosed with breast cancer, an epidemic that is targeting women all over the world. Doctors soon found that the cancer had spread to her liver. We are left with a bitter irony: the earth has become so poisoned that all humans are subject to cancer and other environmental diseases, even someone who gives her life to save it.

Judi Bari, a brilliant political strategist, relentless fighter, and loving mother who has led the Earth First! movement through



Photo by Eugene Louis

A few days before going to press, and having already set the article below, we received the news that Judi Bari died peacefully at home in Willits, CA, around 7 am on Sunday, March 2. With her were her daughter, Lisa Bari, her companion and assistant Alicia Littletree, and fellow Earth First! organizer and close friend Karen Pickett.

Karen Pickett reports that Bari wants to be remembered for "working on her lawsuit until the last moment, and for the inroads she made building ties with the loggers."

One local logger, a rabid foe during 1990's Redwood Summer came over to Bari's cabin during her last week to help with labor around her house.

Bari asked that her friends get together for a party. (Those were her words.) Memorial services are expected around the country. ★

such revolutionary changes, and survived the bombing attempt on her life, will be leaving us before her just time. But her struggle must continue. Now her fight for justice rests with us. Please stay active and informed about Bari's Federal lawsuit. ★

Redwood Summer Justice Project
PO Box 14720
Santa Rosa, CA 95402

To participate in Earth First!'s non-violent direct action campaign in the redwood region:

Mendocino Environmental Center
106 W. Standley St.
Ukiah, CA 95482
(707)468-1660

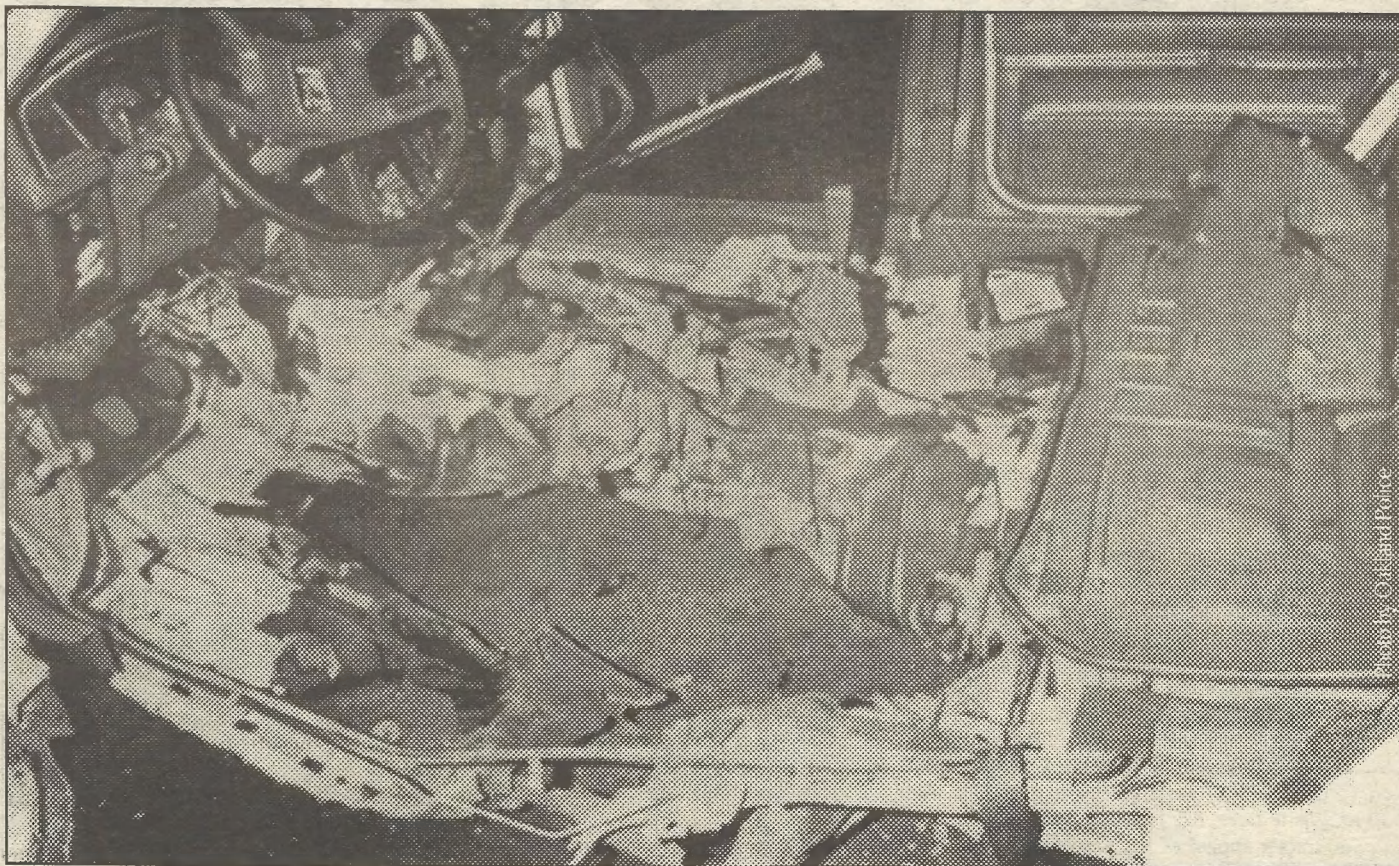


Photo by Oakland Police

Bari and Cherney were arrested on the FBI's claim that the bomb was located on the rear seat floorboard, and therefore they were knowingly carrying it. This photo shows a clear epicenter directly under the driver's seat.

Freedom for All Political Prisoners

SUPPORT AMY SMITH

Amy Smith went to prison on a drug charge. She is being kept there in retaliation for suing the prison and officials when she reported sexual abuse and nothing was done. She needs help with her lawsuit and publicizing her case. She writes, "In August 1993, just months away from my freedom ... I was sexually assaulted by my supervisor, who was a Ranking Captain with 10 years in the Criminal Justice System. ... Upon reporting the incident, I was subjected to some very harsh and cruel treatment and transferred to a different facility where no help was available. Instead of the captain being punished, it seems as though I have been given a whole new sentence for a crime I didn't commit."

Amy has been locked down, stripped of all her personal property, and largely cut off from outside communication. You can write to her at the following address.

Amy Smith #620118
Rt. 4, Box 800
Gatesville, TX 76528

SUPPORT ANARCHIST PRISONER CHRISTOPHER LEE PLUMMER

Christopher Lee Plummer is a revolutionary anarchist imprisoned in Texas. He has a total sentence of 15 years. A group in Spokane, Washington have been in contact with him. They are giving him a lot of support and would like you to also. The Spokane group has taken responsibility of his Anti-Prison group. They are trying to do what he cannot while he is in prison. The group is called Cell-One and stands for prisoner rights.

Much of the time, Chris is housed in closed custody due to conflicts with prison authorities and various racist groups in the prison. He is subject to constant verbal and physical abuse, but he has maintained his views on anarchism and prisoner rights.

On the outside Chris was highly active in the anarchist scene. On the inside he is still active. About six months ago, Chris attempted to form an Anti-Racist Action group (it would have been the first one behind prison walls). For that a racist group put a hit on him. He sat with a broken jaw from one attempt. Regardless, Chris feels he should continue.

Help Chris if you can—if nothing else drop him a letter. He will write back. He is struggling to gain unity inside the prison walls. We should be doing the same on the outside. All anarchists and anti-authoritarians are encouraged to contact him.

Chris Plummer #677345
Estelle Unit
Huntsville, TX 77340

CLP Support Group
3128 N. Hemlock #201
Spokane, WA 99205

SUPPORT HAROLD THOMPSON

Harold H. Thompson is an Anarchist prisoner serving life-plus sentences in Tennessee since 1979. The Huddersfield (UK) Anarchist Black Cross and Raze the Walls are organizing an ongoing assistance campaign for Harold in the form of a cash stipend, stamps, movement literature and other requested items which may make his sentence a little easier. They would appreciate any assistance you can offer. As well as producing a pamphlet of Harold's writings and poetry, they have produced an introductory leaflet about Harold which they need people to distribute. You can help by sending donations (however small), distributing copies of the introductory leaflet, or ordering copies of the pamphlet, "They Will Never Get Us All!" from:

Harold Thompson Support Campaign
c/o Raze the Walls
PO Box 22774
Seattle, WA 98122-0774

BLACK AUTONOMY WORKERS & PRISONERS BASIC STUDY GUIDE

The Black Autonomy Collective has released their first Workers & Prisoners Basic Study Guide. It is available for 50 cents (you should probably add some extra for postage), and is intended to give the reader a brief overview of the politics and revolutionary influences of the Black Autonomy Collective and the Black Autonomist International. It is a resource for anyone who's just beginning their study and application of revolutionary principles. The guide includes "Black Worker / White Worker" by Noel Ignatin, excerpts from Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin and Huey Newton, and more. Order it from Black Autonomy Collective, 323 Broadway Ave. E. #914 Seattle, WA 98102.

ABC WARCHEST PROGRAM

The North American ABC Federation coordinates a program to collect monthly funds from individuals and groups, and send that money into Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War (PP/POW) via monthly checks. The Warchest program has operated consistently since November 1994, sending monthly checks and emergency funds to over a dozen PP/POWs in the US. To find out more information or to donate to the Warchest fund, write to New Jersey ABC, PO Box 8532, Paterson, NJ 07508-8532.

SUNDIATA ACOLI APPEALS HIS PAROLE DENIAL AND 20 YEAR HIT

Sundiata, an ex-Black Panther, has been imprisoned since 1973 when he and his companions, Assata Shakur and Zayd Shakur, were ambushed by state troopers while driving down the New Jersey Turnpike. During the shooting, Zayd and a state trooper were killed, another trooper was wounded and Assata and Sundiata were wounded and captured and subsequently sentenced to life in prison.

After 21 years of imprisonment in the nation's harshest penitentiaries: Trenton State Prison, USP Marion, IL, and USP Leavenworth, KS, and with an exemplary prison record, Sundiata came up for parole in 1994. He was not permitted to return to New Jersey to appear before the parole board in person but was only allowed to participate from USP Leavenworth via telephone without an attorney present. After a 20 minute telephone hearing Sundiata was denied parole and given a 20-year hit, meaning he must do 20 more years before coming up for parole again.

People concerned about justice are urged to write personal letters to the judges urging them to rescind the 20-year hit and release Sundiata on parole due to the 24 years he has already served even though he did not kill the trooper; his advanced age of 60 years; his exemplary prison work, scholastics (all "A's") and conduct records; his 13-year professional computer background before imprisonment and numerous job offerings waiting that will enable him to be a productive member of the community. His release would be in the interest of justice since Sundiata was a primary target of the FBI's illegal COINTEL-PRO activities against the Black Panther Party during the 1960s/70s, and due to many other reasons.

Send letters to the judges' address below. Also send a copy of your letter to the Sundiata Acoli Freedom Campaign, PO Box 5538, Harlem, NY 10027. Donations are needed to defray legal costs. Write to Sundiata Acoli, #39794-066, USP Allenwood, PO Box 3000, White Deer, PA 17887.

Sundiata's appeal of his parole denial and 20-year hit by the New Jersey Parole Board has been filed in the state's Appellate Court. The case is entitled *Sundiata Acoli v. NJ State Parole Board*. The presiding judges are Judge Long and Judge Cuff, Superior Court of New Jersey, Appellate Division, CN 006, Trenton, NJ 08625.★

Mumia Abu-Jamal Harassed, Censored New Ruling Expected Soon

All signs indicate that the Pennsylvania State Supreme Court is getting ready to turn down Mumia Abu-Jamal's appeal for a new trial, according to International Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia. Pennsylvania's Governor Ridge has said that when (not if, but when) the Court turns Mumia's appeal for a new trial down he will sign a new death warrant. This despite Judge Sabo's ruling to stay the execution all the way through the process, to the U.S. Supreme Court if necessary. A National Day of Protest is scheduled for the first business day after a decision by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court.

The only legal recourse if the State Supreme Court turns down Mumia's appeal is to file for a stay in the Federal Courts and then to file for a Federal Writ of Habeas Corpus. If this is turned down Mumia could be executed immediately. The Fraternal Order of Police and a State Representative have both stated on the record that if Mumia gets a new trial he will be set free.

In other developments, Mumia is being hassled about his waist-length dreadlocks. Just as other prisoners wear head covering, Mumia wears his hair in dreadlocks for religious reasons. He has worn his hair this way for the 16 years he has been held captive. In 1985, immediately after the bombing of the MOVE house, Mumia was ordered to cut his hair. When he refused he was thrown into "the hole" until 1992 when worldwide protests forced then-Governor Casey to rescind the order. If he does not cut them, Mumia will be allowed no phone calls and no visits other than immediate family once a month.

This most recent harassment may be due to the recent publication of Mumia's second book, *Death Blossoms*. In addition to

a new book, Mumia is again on the air with a new series of radio commentaries.

After having a planned series of commentaries from Death Row cancelled by National Public Radio a year ago, Mumia

(Continued to page 16)

Anti-Authoritarian Prison Activist Contacts

Anarchist Black Cross Federation
c/o Jacksonville ABC
3628 Park St., Suite 20
Jacksonville, FL 32205
<http://www.jaxnet.com/~yamixabc>

Black Autonomy / Black Autonomist International
323 Broadway Ave E #914
Seattle, WA 98102
bd982@scn.org
<http://www.webcom.com/nattyreb/blackautonomy/>

Committee to End the Marion Lockdown
PO Box 578172
Chicago, IL 60657
<http://www.unix.oit.umass.edu/~kastor/ceml.html>

National Campaign to Stop Control Unit Prisons
c/o AFSC
972 Broad St, 6th Floor
Newark, NJ 07102

New York Anarchist Black Cross
PO Box 1034
Bronx, NY 10454

Out of Control—Lesbian Cmte. to
Support Women Political Prisoners
3543 18th St, Box 30
San Francisco, CA 94110
outoftime@jgc.apc.org

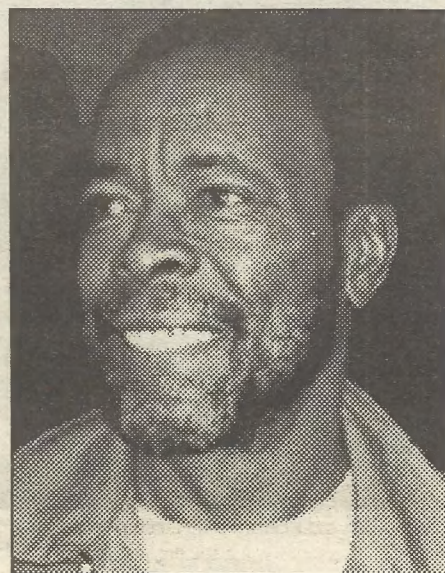
Prison Activist Resource Center
PO Box 3201
Berkeley, CA 94703
<http://www.jgc.apc.org/prisons/>

Western Mass. Prison Issues Group
PO Box 9606
N. Amherst, MA 01059-9606
wmpig@persephone.hampshire.edu
<http://persephone.hampshire.edu/wmpig/prisoncon.html>

Silvia Baraldini Parole Effort

By SILVIA BARALDINI

Last month I completed 14 years of imprisonment. As I begin my 15th year, regaining my freedom has become a priority. Since 1989 I have pursued repatriation to Italy under the Strasbourg Convention. This treaty allows a prisoner to serve his/her sentence in his/her native land. A deep-seated desire to rebuild a close relationship with my family, especially my mother who has been alone since the sudden and brutal death of my sister, Marina, is my motivation. In January 1996, the US government denied the Italian government's request for my transfer for the fourth time. An impasse has been reached and there is no evidence that the US will review a fifth request favorably.



Sundiata Acoli

I was arrested in 1982 on RICO charges, accused of having aided members of the Black Liberation Army in a conspiracy against the US. In reality I participated in the escape of Black revolutionary Assata Shakur who now lives in Cuba. At the end of a long trial, I was sentenced to the maximum sentence of forty years. The presiding judge furiously stated that if I had been a member of the Mafia I would have gotten a lighter sentence.

I am a political prisoner in a country which denies that any exist. A political resolution of our status seems far fetched and totally inconsistent with today's reality. We are living at a time in history when we are being told that the brutal and genocidal war against the people of Vietnam was really a misguided attempt to bring democracy to people who did not deserve it. The history of the national liberation movements of the 60s and 70s which fought to eliminate colonialism and gain independence for their nations is being purposely misrepresented to better serve today's objectives. In keeping with this, a national election was just held whose hallmark was the successful avoidance by both parties to ever address the question of white supremacy and racism. Political prisoners are now battling for their release in this barren ground and in a politically hostile atmosphere. The progressive movements that we helped to build are dormant and we remain in prison, an uncomfortable reminder of a recent past when changing the world seemed a possibility.

(Continued to page 16)

Confronting the Prison Crisis

By DOUG

In an eroding US social landscape, prisons play an increasing role in undermining racial, economic and social justice. The US incarcerates more people than any other nation on the globe. Prison labor is making a huge come back and may form a large sector of the economy of the future. And those going to prison come from low income neighborhoods and neighborhoods of color. As the US government invests heavily in means to warehouse populations it considers disposable and to control potential and real resistance of increasingly disenfranchised poor communities and communities of color, we are indeed in the throes of a prison crisis with no end in sight.

The release of *Criminal Injustice* marks a huge step forward in confronting the prison system. This anthology of some of the most insightful critics of the prison system, is compiled and woven together by Elihu Rosenblatt, coordinator of the Prison Activist Resource Center (PARC) in San Francisco. From the sociological criticism of Mike Davis to the militant writings of Dhoruba Bin-Wahad, *Criminal Injustice* is packed with important information and tight analysis. This book is desperately needed in this period when despite the skyrocketing rate of imprisonment, prison activism is not at the top of many activists' agendas.

The collection's diversity and its range of topics and authors lends integrity and a deep understanding to the topic. The book deals with the prison struggle on many different levels; it takes on issues of race, gender, class and homophobia; analyzes the implications of the new crime bill and includes an historical analysis of the prison system. *Criminal Injustice* is not meant to be read and tossed aside, but to serve as a tool for those who want to agitate for prisoner rights and the eventual abolition of the prison system.

The book opens with an excellent overview of the prison system including articles by Alexander C. Lichtenstein and Michael A. Kroll, Joel Olson, Sabina Virgo, Julie Brown and Mike Davis. These exceptionally strong articles present important facts and analysis of the prison system—what it is, what has been, and where it is heading—and they lay the groundwork for the rest of the book. The next section, "Conditions For Resistance," illustrates many of the hardships endured by prisoners and documents the rapid deterioration of prison conditions, in many cases from horrible to intolerable. Prisoners are continually abused and neglected while the public is fed images of easy prison life.

This section also addresses such crucial contemporary struggles as healthcare and the AIDS crisis in prisons.

The book then moves on to a section addressing the fastest growing portion of

points in his analysis of how prisons are used as tools of counter-insurgency and population control.

The final section deals with the every prisoner's worst nightmare—the lock down

vital information on the prison system.

Not only is the book an important contribution in itself but it is followed up by PARC's Organizing Guide for educators and activists on the crisis in prisons, which one can send away for with the purchase of the book. The guide, organized according to issue as well as by

state, documents the different resources available to prison activists. The guide even includes a bunch of flyers as examples of what has been done in the past to organize prison awareness events. The guide is designed to expand on a regular basis and is a great tool for organizing. Other activist authors should take notice and follow their work up with such a networking guide.

If society eradicated institutions that foster anti-social behavior and communities had the means to determine their own future then the need for prisons would no longer exist. But unfortunately until that day we must come up with ways of confronting the degradation of the prison system and its impact on the rest of society. This 374-page book raises several questions about the growth of the prison system and what this will mean in terms of revolutionary organizing in the future. What will the fact that one-third of men of African descent are under the control of the criminal justice system mean for resistance in those communities? What will be the long-term effects on the economy of investing in a means of social control instead of providing jobs and skills? These are among several questions this book brings up which revolutionaries can not afford to overlook, for their answers are going to have a profound effect on organizing in the future. Prison activism must play a central role in revolutionary strategy as the contradictions of this society get more and more intense.

The struggle against the prison system has historically brought together a wide range of social movements. At the turn of the century it took bringing together the women's movement, the labor movement and other social movements to confront some of the brutalities of the prison system. Some of the same dynamics may happen again as the prison system undermines union labor, women's liberation, racial equality and sound economics. Anarchists, with their analysis of the state and state repression have always done much of the best work in confronting the prison system and understanding the revolutionary potentials within it. With the increasing importance of prison as an industry in this country we are presented with a unique opportunity to take a major role in challenging it.★

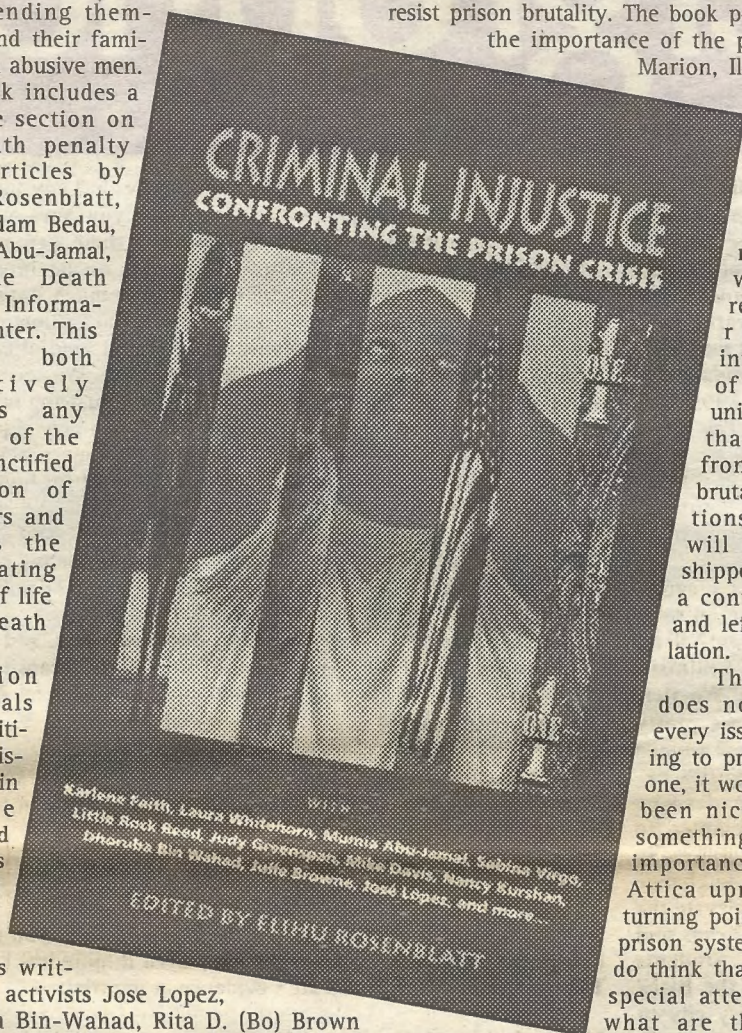
A Review of Criminal Injustice

the prison population: women. Mainly focusing on the problems unique to women in prison, this section draws attention to the intensified patriarchy of the prison system where women are frequently sexually abused by male prison guards and serve long prison sentences for defending themselves and their families from abusive men. The book includes a separate section on the death penalty with articles by Elihu Rosenblatt, Hugo Adam Bedau, Mumia Abu-Jamal, and the Death Penalty Information Center. This section both effectively destroys any defense of the state-sanctified execution of prisoners and exposes the excruciating reality of life on death row.

Section five deals with political imprisonment in the United States and

includes writings by activists Jose Lopez, Dhoruba Bin-Wahad, Rita D. (Bo) Brown and Deborah Garlin. The articles investigate the role that imprisonment of political activists and the suppression of social movements has played throughout US history from the IWW in 1915, to those still imprisoned for their activities with the Black Panther Party, the Puerto Rican independence movement and several other struggles. Jose Lopez hits several important

cerning to prison system and more importantly, highlights issues of concern to those developing a revolutionary approach to the prison struggle. Some of the articles do not look beyond prison reform to an ultimate goal of prison abolition. But even these articles, some of which are more liberal-minded than others, nonetheless contain



Stats on Women in US Prisons

Since 1980, the number of women imprisoned in the US has tripled.

In 1992, there were 50,493 women incarcerated in federal and state prisons. The rate of women's imprisonment grew from 6 per 100,000 in 1925 to 37 per 100,000 in 1992.

There are over 90,000 women in prison in the US today. The majority are in prison for economic crimes. The most typical convictions resulting in imprisonment for women are property crimes, such as check forgery and illegal credit card use. 80% of women in prison report incomes of less than \$2,000 per year in the year before their arrest, and 92% report incomes under \$10,000.

Of the women convicted of violent crimes, the vast majority were convicted for defending themselves or their children from abuse. In California alone there are 600 women in prison for killing their abusers in self-defense. Average prison terms are twice as long for killing husbands as for killing wives.

54% of women in prison are women of color. Ninety percent of women in prison are single mothers. They lose contact with their children, sometimes forever. There are 167,000 children in the US whose mothers are incarcerated.

The average age of women in prison is 29, and 58% have not finished high school.

Black women are twice as likely to be convicted of killing their abusive husbands than are white women. Black women, on average, receive longer jail time and higher fines than do white women for the same crimes.

25% of political prisoners in the US are women.

The number of women in prison has increased 138% in the last ten years. This is partly due to the worsening of economic conditions for women, and also due to the increase in arrest rates due to the "war on crime" and "war on drugs."

Women prisoners spend on average 17 hours a day in their cells, with one hour outside for exercise. Compare to men prisoners, who spend, on average, 15 hours a day in their cells, with 1.5 hours outside.

The Women's High Security Unit at Lexington, KY, was closed in 1988 because of a national and international human rights campaign. The prison kept the women in years of isolation in subterranean cells, conducted daily strip searches, allowed extreme sleep deprivation practices, and as policy, condoned a complete denial of privacy, including male guards watching the showers, and an intense campaign of sexual abuse.

The estimated annual cost of corporate crime is between \$174-231 billion dollars, while the economic cost of "street crimes" (e.g. burglary and robbery) is \$3.4 billion. We must look at why the state focuses on enforcing laws which penalize the types of actions take by poor and working class men and women while systematically ignoring the more destructive white-collar crimes.

This information was adapted from the Prison Activist Resource Center web page at: <http://www.igc.apc.org/justice/>



Write to Women PPs / POWs

(This list is not comprehensive)

Some of the Puerto Rican POWs:

Dylcia Pagán #88971-024
Carmen Valentin #88974-024
Ida Luiz Rodriguez #88973-024
5701 8th St. Camp Parks
Dublin, CA 94568

Alejandrina Torres #92152-024
FCI Danbury
Pembroke Station
Danbury, CT 06811

Alicia Rodriguez #N07157
Box 5007
Dwight, IL 60420

Some of the Anti-Imperialist Political Prisoners:

Kathy Boudin #84-G-313
Judy Clark #83-G-313
PO Box 1000
Bedford Hills, NY 10507

Marilyn Buck #00482-285
Box 27137 Rio Grande
Ft. Worth, TX 76127

Linda Evans #19973-054
Laura Whitehorn #22432-037
5701 8th St Camp Parks A
Dublin, CA 94568

Silvia Baraldini #05125-054
Susan Rosenberg #03684-016
FCI Danbury
Pembroke Station
Danbury, CT 06811

MOVE Prisoners

Merle Austin Africa #006306
Janet Holloway Africa #006308
Janine Phillips Africa #006309
Debbi Simms Africa #006307
451 Fullerton Ave.
Cambridge Springs, PA 16403

Interview with Veteran of the George

Underground

Bo Brown is an ex-political prisoner and community activist. She does grassroots work primarily in the Lesbian and Gay community in the San Francisco Bay Area where she has lived for the past ten years. She works with Out of Control—Lesbian Committee to Support Women Political Prisoners and on the Norma Jean Croy Defense Committee. She also works a 40 hour a week job doing highway maintenance, has a wonderful lover and a snooty black cat. This interview was conducted in Columbus, Ohio at the ARA conference on Oct. 15, 1995. This is the second of two parts. See the previous (Jan/Feb 1997, Vol. 8 No.1) issue of Love and Rage for part I.

Love and Rage — Could talk a little bit about the politics of the George Jackson Brigade?

Bo Brown -- Oh, the politics... We thought we knew everything. Well, not really, but I am sure that that's true on some level. Everyone thinks they discovered the wheel right? Some people in the brigade called themselves Marxist-Leninists, some people called themselves Anti-Authoritarians. We were not all white. We were not all anything; we were pretty diverse actually. Half of us were women. Half of those women were lesbians. We were probably 90% working class, 75% ex-convicts, and we were tired of arm chair revolutionaries who read great books and made predictions and attempted to become the leadership of various movements but didn't really do anything. We thought that the world was going to change faster than it did. We thought there was a need to elevate the struggle because the police were whipping a lot of heads and being real crazy toward the anti-war movement. Students were killed at Jackson State and Kent State and the Black Panther Party members were gunned down in every city in America. There appeared to be war in the American streets. In Seattle they used tear gas, they chased people down alleys and beat their heads in. The police were really out of control at a lot of these demonstrations and the war was becoming increasingly unpopular. The civil rights movement as well as the Native Rights movement in the Northwest were growing and becoming supported by regular people. The women's movement and the gay liberation movements becoming more active. We thought that it was a time to elevate the struggle. We thought it was a time to put all that theory into action and see what would happen. And that is what we tried to do, in a principled manner through armed struggle.

We took very, very great care to make sure that any target that we chose was empty. I can't even tell you how many times we went places and didn't do it because there were people around. Fortunately for us there were no accidents. Because accidents do happen. The police pretty much respected us and responded and evacuated and in fact sometimes were able to defuse things. Because we took that kind of care. Which I think is a significant difference to note. We seem to be in a time period now where some of those right-wing idiots are blowing stuff up and killing people. There is a very significant difference between terrorism and revolutionary action and that is, I think, how you measure it: in respect for human life and the care taken to protect it.

L&R -- So that kind of tactical unity held you all together even though there were a lot of different tendencies in the brigade?

BB -- Yeah, because we all knew who the enemy was, and we all knew that from the experiences of our lives; because we had been in jail and because we were whatever we were. And because we all wanted to live in a better world.

L&R -- Around that time the brigade issued a political statement that illustrates the diversity of the organization and that was unique for a such group.

BB -- Yea I don't think that anybody ever did that exactly. Not only did we reprint our communiqués all in one place, but we also discussed all the bank robberies. Perhaps we were a bit too braggadocious. Maybe we should have played it more low key. The statement was part of state's evidence at my trial.

L&R -- So how did you feel about the statement at the time?

BB -- Well part of it was to keep our sanity. Because by that time we were becoming more isolated. Although we were pretty much always able to keep contact — there were a lot of peripheral people around the brigade — it became more and more difficult as the pressure increased for us to make regular contact and have input. If there comes a time when you can't get input then it is time to take a break. Who are you if you are not representing a community or think you are representing a community? Accountability is a requirement for all revolutionaries.

There were political differences, there were political discussions. A way for us to resolve it for ourselves was to put it out there. If we don't learn to work with all these other people then we are not ever really going to change anything. Some people you just can't work with: people who don't have the capability in their program to listen to other people. So part of that was for ourselves, and part of that was we felt it was necessary to put it out there because we wanted accountability. We thought that we should be accountable on every level to the people. (Whoever the people were who wanted to read this and who gave a shit about it.) We put out a lot of communiqués and these were left in grocery stores, on buses, stuff was left all over town, on campuses, everywhere. Because people wanted to talk about it. It was a sign of the times.

One action was on New Years, 1976. The city light workers had been out on strike for some time. The city was trying to bust their union. During the strike there had been an accident on the freeway where a tanker truck had tipped over and poured fuel into an underground electrical thing and turned off all the lights downtown. The electrical workers refused the city's plea to stop the strike long enough to fix it. Various people walked the picket line with the striking electrical workers and discovered that the strikers thought that fire was helpful to them.* The Brigade decided to blow up a transformer in Laurelhurst, a very rich suburb of Seattle on New Years—at midnight, and that was a successful action. Somebody's car got burnt up and that was the worst thing you could say about it. So the city light workers picketed that station and didn't rebuild it for some time.

You know everybody was all nervous at the time but years and years later, the city light workers are still talking about that. Actually when I got out of jail I had a unique opportunity. I went back to Seattle and I put out an invitation to various lesbians who were active in my community with me at that time and we had a meeting. There was probably about 20 of us. I just said to them, "well here I am. We have been through all this shit. Some of you were pissed off and some of you were afraid and I went to jail. And so I think we should just go around the room and just talk about it. What do you have to say to me? What are your criticisms?" And surprisingly enough even though people were upset at the time, in reflecting on it, they felt much better about it and understood it in a different context. It is different when you are in it and you think the police are coming to your house and I borrowed your car last week, or whatever. Somebody drove their car off a cliff or something because I borrowed it once. The reality of it is that nothing ever happened to anybody but at the time people were freaked out. So it was a good opportunity to go back and discuss that with people.

L&R -- Could you talk a little bit about the debate about violence in the women's movement around Susan Saxe and others?

BB -- Well I think the most important thing about Susan Saxe is that the FBI chased her and Catherine Powers for a long time after a failed bank robbery in Boston in the early 70s. They tried very hard for a long time to infiltrate the gay and lesbian community. That was their first really organized attempt to do this (that we know of). And they were very unsuccessful. They put people in jail. They had grand juries. Jill Raymond, a possible lover of Susan Saxe, went to jail for 18 months for refusing to testify before a grand jury. There was an ongoing discussion in the lesbian press at that time about resisting grand juries, about whether or not to support these women. There were a lot of questions about the use of violence and there is still a question because the feminist movement tends to think sometimes that they can just peacefully change these monsters who control everything. The biggest problem with the feminist movement is that it's overwhelmingly white and middle class.

I am 48 years old and I never ran into a rich white man who wants to give up anything because you ask him, nice or otherwise. And it's not even those individuals who are the real enemy. We live in a country right now where 2% of the population has 80% of the wealth. This is the only country in the world where the span between the richest and the poorest has grown in the last ten years. In other industrial countries like England and Germany it is decreasing—slowly, but it is decreasing.

L&R -- What do you have to say to people who consider themselves revolutionaries today and are trying to negotiate where armed struggle fits into that, if at all?

BB -- I think the right-wing has the market on it this year! We were products of a very unique time period in American history. I guess I'd say now is not the time, but... I wouldn't dis-



Bo and Norma Jean Croy after Croy's release.

B♀ Brown Jackson Brigade

PART

II

miss the theory entirely. History is a circular thing. You've got to study history. It ebbs and flows, comes and goes and it may just come around again.

L&R -- *You mentioned that you tried to maintain real connections to the community so that you were operating out of a broad base and being informed by all the struggles going on. After you got arrested were those ties really strained and did that cause the decline of the George Jackson Brigade?*

BB -- After I got arrested I didn't know anything else about the Brigade. That's called security. And I was very isolated and I got sent to a prison on the east coast.

A very interesting thing happened with me personally. I am a very outspoken lesbian, I am a very obvious butch lesbian. Once upon a time I went to Buffalo, NY for an Attica demonstration in 1973. I just met every lesbian in the country on that trip. So anywhere that they sent me I was always able to find somebody from my community that I knew or met on that trip or could convince the prisoncrats that I knew or met so that I always had visitors. No matter where they put me and no matter what they did it was never more than a few days that I was without some form of communication or somebody would send me some money or something. Most people are not that fortunate.

I think that is just because lesbians take care of each other in a different way. In the 70s we were coming out of a subcultural mentality. We understood survival at a different level because we had been isolated outside of society for a very long time. (This is also part of the reason they were never able to infiltrate when they were looking for Susan Saxe.) The feds were in Washington state, actually, 'cause Jill Raymond's Grandmother lives there. They thought that Susan and Jill had been lovers. They had Jill Raymond before this grand jury and she wasn't telling them nothing and they had her in jail, so they went to her grandmother's house and said, "did you know your grand daughter is a dyke?" They were doing that kind of stuff in the mid 70s.

And you know, Catherine Powers just turned herself in last year so they never got too far. They offered \$10,000 reward for anyone who could give info that would lead to me. And they went specifically to the lesbian bars and did that. Really sad. Too bad they didn't have to spend the money. I don't know if we would be as successful in this time period at that kind of protection. Is there that kind of buffer now? It's hard to say, I don't know. Then people had a better concept of who the enemy was and that the police were beating people in the street every weekend. People were pissed off and people were making a lot of connections in the 70s between racism, class division, sexism, all the isms. And we were able to localize it because of the history of Seattle. That is part of the reason why the right-wing has taken on the Pacific Northwest, because geographically it can secede. It has a port and it has food, it has all those things in that little corner there: you could just take Oregon, Washington, Idaho and be independent and not need the rest of this shit. Sometimes I am really pissed off at those guys in Idaho. [The Order] Because I think that they took our theory, made it their practice and now they are trying take over the Northwest. All the things that they did in the Northwest -- the bank robberies -- were things that we did in the 70s.

Now if you listen to their rhetoric, their appeal to the white working-class man is a sociological 'you are the poor victim' kind of appeal. They have taken our rhetoric and our theory and applied it like that because it is appealing, because it deals with you as an individual. Everybody can understand that. "These guys are the bosses and they are fucking you over, you poor white man. Let's go kill somebody." They are sort of disgusting in that way.

L&R -- *Could you speak about the prison work you're doing now, especially with women in prison?*

BB -- Prisons are one of the necessary evil elements of this society, because you have to have a place to put the people that you don't need, people that you don't agree with and people that will disagree with you and especially the people who will take you on. And so that is what prisons are about. Prisons are about racism. There is an economic basis for it. Prisons are like the military. It is another arm of the masters of unreason. I think that most women--most people but definitely 70% of all women are in prison for non-violent first offenses. They don't need to be there. It's stupid. It's about nothing but punishment; it's a way to dismiss them and make them even more worthless than this society already treats them. And the costs are ridiculous. For \$1 million you can three strike someone and keep them in prison for 25 to life or

you could send five people to Harvard for four years. I think that it [a prison movement] is one of the front-line wars that we need to wage in this country because we are not making anything better. All we are doing is locking people up and throwing them away. And any of us in this room could go tomorrow--any of us.

Prisons are the social/military arm of this society. If they get tired of you they send in the police, they send you to jail. And there is a jail everywhere: every city has a jail, every state has a prison. In California it's so crazy pretty soon every county is going to have a prison, practically. And if you explore the conditions in prisons, then you see what this society is about.

One of those old white guys wrote



in a book: if you want to know about a society look at how it treats its prisoners and its old people, and I would add children to that.

I don't know why I picked that struggle, cause I know the most about it I guess. It seems like I've been either in prison or fighting against it my whole life. I think it's important work. I have the ability to not be too emotionally destroyed by it. Maybe I've just developed too many calluses. Prison work is very hard work. There is no immediate gratification, there are no just rewards and it is structured that way. And if you think you get tired of dealing with it, how the hell do you think the people feel who are in there? Its whole purpose is to destroy human life. Sometimes, if you can survive it, it can make you stronger and we all need to be as strong as possible.

L&R -- *Do you consider yourself an anarchist?*

BB -- I have always used the term Anti-Authoritarian. 'Cause I think anarchist is limiting. I think that the recipe for progressive revolution in this country doesn't come from any one -ism or any one white man who wrote a book. I think that we have a unique and intelligent opportunity to take a little of this one here and from this one over here and make a good and healthy enough stew to feed everybody. There is not one dogma, not one ideology, not one -ism. If you swallow one pill you can only go so far. I think that is what happened in the left. All those theories -- communism, anarchism -- are all really scientific tools to be used by us in our own time. So often people don't understand that science is not static, it is fluid. One of the things that I find hopeful among youth at this time is that people are more open and anarchism is just one more specific theory. I think there are good

things in that too. The main thing is that I don't want no fucking bosses, you know? And I also want freedom over my own body.

L&R -- *What advice do you have for those of us*

doing outside support work?

BB -- Well there's a lot of material things that prisoners need. Clothes, food, shoes... I was never going to work for prison industries. I'll sit in a cell all day. I won't work for them. Fuck that. But some people don't have the opportunity to make that decision and part of the reason that I could make that decision is one, because I am really stubborn and I wasn't going to work for them any way (especially the times they had me so locked down it didn't matter). But after my mother got over being really mad at me, she used to send me \$10 a month. People in my community set it up so that it could rotate. This person over here might send you 20 bucks for six months and then the next 6 months someone else would take a turn so that I always had enough money to survive. I hate to buy stuff from the commissary because they charge you an incredible amount of money. Tampax costs more inside then outside--a dollar more. And in the federal system, especially, the wage that you get paid has not been increased in 20 years. In industry you start at \$.50 an hour and you go up to about \$1.25 an hour and if you mop the floor or that kind of stuff you only get \$10 a month at best. I always got an allowance from my community which helped me. So we didn't have to go to the commissary. So material support is important.

At one point after the people in Nyack got caught. *Off Our Backs* printed a really horrible article about the terribleness of violence and how that guard got shot and all that stuff and they printed it in the centerfold of their paper and outlined it in red. I was in MCC Chicago and there were only 10 women there and 700 men so the women were pretty locked down. (i

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and Out!

Irish Hunger Strikers On Screen



Terrence George's fictional mothers, Kathleen Quigley (l) and Annie Higgins (r) publicize the hunger strike and the IRA demands.

By CAROLYN

"It is not those who can inflict the most, but those who can suffer the most who will win."

— Terence McSwiney, IRA hunger striker who died in 1920.
Tíocfaidh Ar' La' (Our Day Will Come!)

Terry George's powerful new film *Some Mother's Son* depicts the 1981 hunger strikes by twenty-one Republican prisoners in Ireland. (Republican refers to the united Republic of Ireland, currently Ireland is partitioned with the British occupying the six counties in the North.) The film follows the lives of two mothers whose sons are on hunger strike, and zeros in on their relationships with their sons and each other, as these women are forced to the center of the struggle between the British government and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The film asks the question, "could you stand by and watch your son starve himself to death for his beliefs?" By placing the two fictionalized mothers at its center, *Some Mother's Son* focuses less attention on historical detail than on the impact the hunger strike had on those most intimately involved. The film, like George's previous effort with Jim Sheridan, *In the Name of the Father*, studies the impact of "the troubles," — the British military occupation of Northern Ireland and neocolonial rule of Ireland overall, on the families drawn into the conflict from very different social and political backgrounds.

A FORCED FREINDSHIP

Annie Higgins (Fionnula Flanagan) is a working-class and unapologetically Republican mother who is active in Sinn Féin, the political party of the IRA. As the film begins, she is working hard to keep her farm and her family together. She has already lost one son to the British. Annie Higgins desperately wants to save her surviving son from the British soldiers who haunt the rural backroads surrounding the family farm. But, when her son, Frank, and Gerald Quigley, a friend, are captured, she's committed both to her son and to the cause — whatever the consequences. Kathleen Quigley (Helen Mirren) feels her family has been dragged into a quagmire of Republican madness due to the zealotry of her son. A secret member of the IRA, he is arrested in an ambush by the British Army on Christmas Eve. Mrs. Quigley maintained a comfortable distance from British occupation, living in a large house by the ocean. At the film's outset, she views the British occupation as at worst a nuisance, not something to fight over. The differences between Mrs. Higgins and Mrs. Quigley are drawn out as they build an awkward friendship and struggle to keep their sons alive.

CLOSE TO THE DIRECTOR'S HEART

It's not surprising that writer/director Terry George has a keen eye for the details of the struggle that make this a sophisticated political drama. George was first interned at the age of 18 during one of the massive round-ups of young people in Northern Ireland's Catholic neighborhoods in the late 1960's. When he got out, he couldn't get work as a marked Irish Catholic. After wandering around England in search of work, George returned to his home and became active in the Republican clubs associated with the IRA's political wing. After a split in the IRA over how to respond to escalating Protestant vigilantism, Terry George followed Bernadette Devlin, Miriam Daly and Seamus Costello into what became the Irish Republican Socialist Party (IRSP) and its military-wing, the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA). George ended up in Long Kesh prison on a six-year bid for possession of firearms in 1975. This is at the same time the British were beginning to build a new prison in an effort to isolate and control the increasing number of Nationalist political prisoners. From 745 in 1972, the number of political prisoners rose to nearly 2,300 in 1979. Internment, the mass detention of Irish Catholics suspected of IRA membership without trial in August 1971 backfired on the British Government. Thousands of former internees and their families became militant Republicans, swelling the ranks of the IRA and INLA. Recognizing the failure of internment, in 1976 the British began a new offensive to separate the IRA from its base in Catholic communities and undermine the IRA's organizing in prison.

THE BRITISH COUNTER-INSURGENCY

Modeled on the US policy during the Vietnam war, the British counterinsurgency strategy had three components: "Ulsterization," incremental British troop withdrawal and increased reliance on local militias and the anti-Catholic Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC). Isolation: the closing of roads, tightening of free travel and removal of freedom of the press for Republicans. And criminalization: Republican prisoners lost their de facto POW status, and were treated as common criminals, forced to wear prison uniform and do prison work. A new prison was built for politicals, to isolate and break organized resistance inside. This new prison was called HM Prison Maze, and became known as the H-Blocks because of the shape of the prison when viewed from the air. It was located next to the old prison in Long Kesh.

The IRA retaliated first by refusing to wear prison uniform and only wearing prison blankets which led to the loss of prison sentence remission and a 24/7 lock-down. In Long Kesh there were 837 Republicans, of which 347 were on the blanket protest by 1980. Two years later, the Republican prisoners escalated their resistance to a no-wash protest, then quickly to the dirty protest whereby prisoners would take their shit, and in the case of women their menstrual flow and wipe it on the walls. This was in response to no longer being allowed to empty their bedpans unless they wore prison uniform. On the outside, the IRA had begun targeting prison wardens, successfully killing 18. But by 1979 a sense of defeat had set in both inside and out. The blanket and dirty protests had failed to force the

British to return special category status. Outside the IRA leadership was uncertain how to move forward. The IRA prisoners, feeling that they had but one tactic left, began to argue that only a hunger strike could break the criminalization policy.

Hunger strikes have a long tradition in Irish protest, dating back to medieval Ireland. The Irish Republican Brotherhood, a forerunner of the IRA, launched the first strike in 1917 soon after the failed Easter Uprising. In 1923, anti-treaty (The Anglo-Irish Treaty of 1921 which partitioned Ireland) Republicans staged a massive hunger strike to win their freedom, which at its peak involved 8,000 prisoners. The strike failed, leaving the movement weakened and demoralized. Between then and 1980 there were around a dozen hunger strikes. Most ended with mixed results. Overall they were unsuccessful, as their emotional and physical costs always left a sense of bitterness.

The IRA called off attacks on prison officials and initiated a broad-based pan-nationalist campaign headed by the National H-Block/Amagh Committee for the restoration of special status, in the hopes of bringing a settlement to the situation without a hunger strike. But even after gathering international attention and fairly strong support from the Catholic Church, including the Pope, it became clear the British were not about to budge. Sensing the inevitable, the Army Council of the IRA gave the OK for a 7-man hunger strike with three IRA women soon joining, lead by Mairead Farrell. Much to the surprise of the leadership outside, after 53 days the prisoners called the strike off, as it looked like one of the seven was about to die. The strike won no concessions and ended on December 18, 1980 in confusion. The prisoners thought the British were going to meet their demands, and for the next month they held on to the hope that negotiations would lead to a resolution in their favor.

BHI AN BUA AGAINN (VICTORY IS OURS)

Actor John Lynch of *In the Name of the Father* and *Cal* where he was first teamed with actor Helen Mirren, plays IRA volunteer Bobby Sands.

As the leader of the IRA in prison, Sands demands permission to initiate another strike immediately following the failure of the initial strike. Though the IRA leadership outside was strongly opposed, the prisoners held out, and another strike was planned to begin on March first, the fifth anniversary of the date the Government had eliminated special category status. This time, hunger strikers would be phased in over time to maximize the impact. Bobby Sands was the first to go without food, and the first of ten to die after sixty-six harrowing days.

The hunger strike introduces Bobby Sands, the only non-fictionalized character in the film. Outside support for the strike was tepid given the failure of the first strike and its anti-climatic ending.

Gerry Adams, then vice-president of Sinn Féin, felt something else was needed to bring the issue forward in the public consciousness. After a local popular liberal Catholic nationalist passed away, Adams suggested putting Sands up for the vacated MP seat of Fermanagh-South Tyrone as "H-Block/Armagh Political Prisoner." As *Some Mother's Son* shows, the election campaign was a massive success. It drew in previously non-political Catholics, cementing public opinion across the world that the IRA were hardly a marginal movement. Bobby Sands won, to the great joy of the Republican movement, a few weeks before his death. Soon two more hunger strikers were elected, as the movement gained momentum with mass demonstrations, work stoppages and rioting. These elections marked the shift toward the "armalite and the ballot box" strategy, breaking the IRA's official policy of electoral abstention. The Republican movement's growing capacity to call on its base with a variety of tactics added to the already growing international pressure on the British government to meet the prisoners' demands. *Some Mother's Son* attempts to deal with the impacts of war on people who haven't taken a side. It asks the viewer to look through Mrs.

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Some Mother's Daughter: Roisin McAliskey in Prison



Roisin McAliskey, the 25-year-old daughter of Irish civil rights leader Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, is currently being held in London's Holloway prison. McAliskey is seven months pregnant and suffers from asthma, yet she is locked in solitary confinement 23 hours a day with no access to natural light or fresh air. Examining doctors agreed she should be moved to a hospital, but prison authorities refused and insist she will give birth while shackled to a bed and handcuffed to an attendant. Authorities intend to take away her baby immediately after birth.

McAliskey has been denied bail and is being held pending an extradition warrant from Germany where she would be charged with attempted murder for allegedly participating in a mortar attack on an unoccupied British military base there. The case is based on the testimony of a landlord of an alleged IRA safe house in Germany who identified McAliskey in a photo. Yet the photo differs from the man's earlier description of the suspect in terms of age, build, height, and coloring. The only other evidence the Germans claim to have is her fingerprints

on the cellophane lining of a cigarette pack.

According to her mother, Roisin's "original arrest and detention formed part of a systematic pattern of aggressive harassment and intimidation of community groups, accompanied by the arrests of young Republican women who worked in West Belfast, were computer literate, (and) were vulnerable because of pregnancy or recent childbirth." Roisin was both a community activist and teacher at the time of her detention. Roisin's mother says that because her daughter "did not break under interrogation, did not agree to work for the police, did not sign confessions to things she was not guilty of, and was not prepared to swear evidence against other people for things they were not guilty of, she is being made an example of... I think she is very conscious that if the Northern Ireland police are allowed to do this to her, they will crucify every vulnerable young woman in the Republican community."

Roisin may remain in prison for up to two years before her case even goes to trial. Supporters of McAliskey are protesting her threatened extradition to Germany. Demonstrations have been held at German targets such as Lufthansa Airlines.

Although increasingly weak from the conditions of her imprisonment, Roisin remains strong. You can write her at the following address:

Roisin McAliskey
TG 2456 HMP Holloway Women's Prison
Parkhurst Rd, Holloway N70N, London UK

Or contact the Friends of Roisin McAliskey:
O'Dwyer & Bernstein
52 Duane St, NY, NY 10007 ★

Groundswell of Resistance to Welfare Cutbacks in the UK

BY DUFF MCINTOSH

Throughout 1996 in the UK, unemployment activists fought a new Job Seekers' Allowance (JSA) of the British Employment Service (ES). The JSA forces people off unemployment benefits ("the dole") into low-paid, dead-end jobs. A direct action campaign to fight the JSA called Groundswell formed in April 1995. According to a delegate at the fifth Groundswell conference in Sheffield last May, the ES targets 215,000 people for removal from the dole in 1996/97 if they don't comply with compulsory training schemes or low-paid work. Government figures say two million are out of work but the Employment Policy Institute estimates four million unemployed.

GROUNDSWELL

Groundswell is a network of unemployed activists, anarchists/syndicalists, left socialists and unionists active across the UK (England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland). The London anarchist bi-weekly, *Freedom*, describes Groundswell as "loosely of the libertarian left, though some of its members are Marxists." Other unemployed groups are also active. Protests outside and non-violent occupations inside ES offices have raised concern among managers and staff who fear violence from activists and disgruntled claimants. To this Groundswell militants reply "I told you so." They have repeatedly warned JSA would backfire in the faces of staff and that the ES wasn't really concerned for staff safety.

THREE STRIKES, YOU'RE OUT

Activism began in Spring of 96 as Groundswell prepared for pre-JSA schemes run at selected ES offices testing claimant resistance, especially Cheetham Hill office in Manchester. (Of 21 pilot schemes, 11 failed.) Cheetham Hill is called "House of Horror" and is a main focus of the campaign with ten small demonstrations so far. Playing on the US's "three strikes" sentencing laws activists give ES staff or workers who act bullyish to claimants three chances before they are photographed and their names and addresses posted around town. Widely publicized, the three strikes tactic has upset ES staff and brought criticism from the staff union, the Civil and Public Service Association (CPSA), other unions and leftists. Staffers have been attacked by angry claimants not part of the organized unemployed groups. Unemployed activist, "Mack the Knife," wrote in the July 20 *Freedom*, "The (ES) offer no decent alternative to the dole. They just want to cut the register of unemployed, either by putting people in sweatshop jobs on cheap labor or drafting folk onto some of these joke schemes they are operating or by disqualifying claimants from benefits." 'Anonymous' in the same paper said of Three Strikes, "it represents an inverted degradation ceremony in which, for a change, the poor ... hold their persecutors to account." S/he called it as "English as Dickens." The ES wrote guidelines on how to deal with the tactic, installed a helpline for staff, and called "panic meetings." Scotland's August 18 Sunday *Post* complained, "staff in benefit offices and job centers are under threat from ... a shadowy group called Groundswell ... its members include anarchists, New Age travelers and anti-roads campaigners." In April, 20 people occupied Cheetham Hill and photographed management. The week of June 13, 40 pickets temporarily occupied Cheetham Hill. They won the support of some staffers and evaded arrest. In London 50 people occupied offices of the Department of Education and Employment.

July 17 was Groundswell's National Day of Action, with pickets at ES offices from Brighton in south England up to Edinburgh, Scotland. The action included occupation of JSA Implementation Manager (JIM) offices. Ten of which dot the UK. In an action on July 31 at Ontario House in Salford a picket was knocked down the steps by a security guard. In Edinburgh two managers were

warned and 50 marched to the home of a JIM to deliver a letter denouncing his role in the JSA. In London protesters bypassed office security to confront a JIM. In Nottingham posters with a JIM's photo appeared around town and on the windows

against the JSA in principle. While many left and union groups sold out, smaller groups like Manchester Socialist Alliance, and bakers union pickets have linked up with Groundswell.

The forces of repression prepared at ES

schemes. City councils in Hull and Rochester have refused work connected with the scheme.

Groundswell recently decided to link up with workers striking or suffering casualization. In Liverpool, waterfront dockers



Pickers target Cheetham Hill Job Centre on Groundswell's first National Day of Action

of their office. When the JSA went into effect on October 7, "A-Day," hundreds rallied in Cardiff, Wales; Sheffield; Newcastle; Bury, Ashton and Manchester. There was a serious assault on a staffer in Stockport and police removed distressed claimants at another ES office there. Surveillance cameras were installed. In Belfast, Northern Ireland a dole center was closed after staff received death threats. After JSA opening day, the ES introduced two new features, the JSAgreement and JSDiscretion. The first throws claimants off benefits if they refuse to work, spoil a work application, or put unacceptable restraints on hours/days available for work. The other requires recipients to apply for advertised jobs, prepare and submit a resume to a number of employers, register with a job agency and attend job interviews at ES offices for specific job vacancies.

DIVISIONS

Attempts have been made by some Groundswell groups to meet with ES staff, many of whom oppose the JSA. Activists say the ES's opposition to such a meeting is mainly due to fear of claimants. Some staff actually receive bonuses for forcing people off benefits!

A September 7 rally of London Against the JSA with several hundred people, some leftists and unionists attacked Groundswell as anti-union. In Sheffield on October 5 hundreds of unionists marched to back the CPSA call for security partitions or "bandit screens" between staff and clients. A special TUC (Trades Union Congress - similar to the AFL-CIO) meeting was held in July between Groundswell and unionists including the CPSA. Staffers claimed they were only doing their job in administering the new laws. Radicals and other unionists present countered that this kind of excuse was similar to that plied by Nazi concentration camp guards and not acceptable. Still some TUC unions, the CPSA, left groups like Militant Labor (which has organized CPSA members) and the Socialist Workers Party are hostile to Groundswell's three strikes tactic, showing division within the left and union movements. When the CPSA had an anti-JSA strike in August it mainly called for increased security for staff but wasn't

offices with private security guards, a "Benefit Fraud Hotline," "fraud squads," bandit screens, and video cameras. Staff are warned not to talk or leak information to activists. Ominously, the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act (1994) added a new criminal offense, "intentional harassment" which allows arrest of those "who harass others." This could be used on protesters. And ES fraud squads look for folks doing illegal work on the side, especially for "soft" targets like single mothers and those on child support.

RESISTANCE TACTICS

Since the JSA started, activists have crafted a new resistance strategy. In response to the fraud hotline, a "Dole Bully Hotline" was started to let claimants phone in and identify bullies. At the Bury Unemployed Center a "Blacklist" of businesses who gain from the JSA by advertising low-pay jobs was drawn up. A local newspaper called the list a "Register of Shame." A "Claimant Survival Guide" advises claimants to resist bullying, go by the book, and slow down interviews. New "Rapid Response Units" will work closely with just-bumped-off-the-dole claimants and quickly dispatch a team to an ES office and buttonhole the manager, demanding reinstatement. If this doesn't work they'll demand an official appeal process. three strikes will extend to include doctors, "Quacks," working for the Department of Social Security who disqualify folks from medical benefits.

LINKS

Unlikely alliances between disparate groups just may stir a new radicalism eschewed by mainstream unions and parties. People marched across northern England September 24-October 1 to fight social service cuts. It went from Hull in the east to Blackpool in the west where the Labor Party (LP) was meeting. The JSA arrives as labor leaders and the Labor Party move right like the US Democratic Party. The LP, expected to win the next election, has in the wings its own Welfare to Work plan, Project Work. Project Work puts those out of work for two years under intense pressure to take low-paid work or training

locked-out in a labor dispute recently allied with anarchists and greens as thousands of dockers, anti-JSA and eco-anarchist activists rallied on September 30. Then eco-anarchists invited the dockers to a take-back-the-streets rally, Reclaim the Streets. The dockers received solidarity from Turkish, Swedish, Danish, and Spanish (including anarcho-syndicalist CGT port workers) unions but little help from British unions; not even their own Transport & General Workers Union. A TGWU official accused the dockers of associating with "international anarchists." The dockers were invited to the Groundswell conference in January, 97 in London. *Freedom* noted this is something new in UK politics.

The JSA is similar to attacks on working and non-working people like Workfare in the US, just one of the many austerity plans for the working class being pushed across the world by capitalists and governments. The recent round of attacks began in the '70s but now are becoming more bold and frequent. Solidarity such as the above docker/green/anarchist alliance points to new tactics, movements, ideas and possibilities we should consider. ★

Information for this article was taken from several 1996 issues of *Freedom*, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London, E1 7QX, England.



Neoliberalism and World Revolution

By CHRISTOPHER DAY

General strikes protesting budget cuts rock every major city in Ontario. Workers from Tabasco stage a hunger strike in Mexico City. In cities and states across the US campaigns are demanding a "living wage." A general strike against IMF imposed austerity measures brings silence to the streets of every major city in Haiti. Increasingly the participants in these struggles are coming to see themselves as up against the same enemy. Every day brings more news of outbreaks of resistance to the economic new world order called neo-liberalism. These outbreaks contain the raw material of any future revolutionary movement. But in order to understand them and what they mean for us we must first understand neo-liberalism.

WHAT IS NEO-LIBERALISM?

Neo-liberalism generally refers to the economic policies of reduced restrictions on international investment and trade, dramatic cuts in social spending, and an assault on the wages, job security and working conditions of people around the world. The term "neo-liberalism" often confuses people in the US where "liberalism" is associated with the left. Neo-liberal policies are most closely associated with the Republican Party.

World. While these movements were invariably lead by middle-class intellectuals they depended heavily on the mobilization of the oppressed classes, the peasants and workers of their respective countries. And while the regimes brought to power by these struggles continued to exploit those classes they also made certain concessions to them in areas of education, health, social welfare, wage guarantees and agricultural price supports.

These concessions to peasants and workers stood in the way of the profits of international capitalism at a time when new developments in technology were creating potential opportunities for fantastic profits from international investment in the industrial development of a number of Third World countries. National liberation movements (and their allies in the imperialist countries) made it increasingly difficult to use direct military intervention to impose the will of the banks and multinational corporations on these countries. International capitalism needed

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

The post-war period also saw a number of technological developments that are revolutionizing the workings of capitalism. Now communications and transportation technologies have eased the flow of goods and money across borders. This has made possible "global factories" in which different steps in the process of producing various goods can be carried out in different countries. This means that multinational corporations can make workers from different countries compete with each other for scarce jobs, driving down wages.

The so-called "Green Revolution" in agriculture (the use of machinery and

ated by the demands of the IMF.

Within our lifetimes and for the first time in human history the majority of humanity will reside in cities. While enormous numbers of people will eke out an existence on the margins as beggars, criminals or peddlers most of these people will become wage workers. This means two very important things. First,

"Hard as it is to imagine given the current weakness of organized revolutionary forces, humanity has no hope except world revolution."

chemical fertilizers and pesticides) to raise agricultural productivity has gone hand-in-hand with increasing corporate domination of agriculture around the world as peasants are transformed into waged agricultural workers or driven into the cities.

The long process of automation has also been accelerated with computers and robotics technologies. This has meant a relative decline in the number of highly-skilled workers needed for production. Combined with the general decentralization of production processes this has greatly reduced the ability of workers in a single factory or department to halt production through strike action and therefore a general decline in the power of organized labor.

THIRD WORLD INDUSTRIALIZATION

The profound implications of this new

we are quickly approaching the moment in which the proletariat will constitute the single largest social class if not yet a majority of humanity. Second, the center of the international working class is passing from the old imperialist countries of the First World to the newly industrializing countries of the Third World.

The industrialization of what was once considered the periphery of the world economy has shaped the ethnic and gender make-up of the international working class as well. Just as early industrialization in Europe depended on ultra-cheap women's labor, the shift of industrial production to Mexico or Malaysia has also meant a shift back to women's labor.

NEW TERRAIN IN THE FIRST WORLD

Neo-liberalism is also having major consequences in the old imperialist countries. If making workers in Mexico and Malaysia compete means lower wages all around, making workers in Michigan compete with both of them does all the more so. In the late 1970s heavy industries began closing plants in the US as new factories were being opened in the Third World (or the US South). The US continues to offer significant advantages for investors (superior communications and an enormous domestic market to name two) and therefore wages are not likely to sink all the way down to Third World levels, but globalization has played a big part in the steady decline in the standard of living of the US worker. The decline in wages in manufacturing has been accompanied by a collapse in the availability of traditionally middle-class jobs.

A major feature of the new world order has been the incredible mobility of labor. The Gulf War brought this to general attention as it revealed the peculiar fact that the majority of people living in Kuwait were foreign workers (with even fewer rights than Kuwaitis). Palestinian construction workers, Phillipina domestics and petroleum workers of countless other nationalities made Kuwait go. The world is witnessing a period of international migration unlike anything seen before. While much of that migration occurs between Third World countries, migration has also increased from the Third World to the First. The Third World proletariat, increasingly central to the world economy is also an increasingly important part of the First World. One of the potential consequences of this trend was revealed when the majority of people arrested during the 1992 Los Angeles rebellion turned out not to be Black, but Latino.

THE DEFEAT OF THE LEFT

(Continued next page)

new weapons and a new strategy.

The most powerful new weapon was debt. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, both under the effective leadership of the US ruling class, developed a policy of making access to international credit and aid dependent on compliance with budgetary and social policy demands. Poor countries needed credit and aid to develop their economies and escape the devastating consequences of colonialism and were therefore vulnerable to these demands. Starting in the early 1970s the

(though in reality they get bipartisan support as was the case with support for NAFTA). The term refers to the economic policies of 19th-century classical liberalism -- free trade and minimal governmental intervention in the economy. In practice, of course, the multinational corporations that advocate neo-liberalism are the greatest recipients of government largesse.

In the US neo-liberalism has many faces. It is New York welfare recipients forced to work at sub-minimum wage through the Work Experience Program (WEP); once well-paying union jobs producing auto-parts sub-contracted out to low-wage non-union plants; new high-profile "anti-crime" campaigns that terrorize poor peoples' neighborhoods with random police stops and helicopters with "lights as bright as the sun." It is tuition hikes, cuts in financial aid, and a growing reliance on underpaid adjuncts for public universities. Individually each of these things is an unfair attack on poor and working-class people. Taken together these things are nothing less than a full-fledged war on the poor.

Neo-liberalism is not just some minor adjustments in the normal workings of capitalism. It is a whole new period in which capitalism is dramatically shaping itself in response to a number of developments that have been taking place in the decades following the Second World War. In order to really understand neo-liberalism we need to understand those developments.

DECOLONIZATION AND AUSTERITY

The biggest social upheaval of the second half of the 20th century was wrought by the national liberation movements that overthrew colonialism in much of the Third



After running out of chants, striking auto workers in South Korea break into a chorus of "THE PEOPLE UNITED, WILL NEVER BE DEFEATED!"

IMF and World Bank began to demand the dismantling of the various gains won by peasants and workers out of the period of national liberation struggles. These policies of austerity and privatization were nothing more or less than an assault on the poor. "Creating a favorable climate for investment" resulted in conditions of desperate poverty in which people are willing to work for almost nothing.

international capitalist mobility is suggested by the rapid industrialization of countries like Mexico, Brazil, South Korea, and most spectacularly, China. Developments in agriculture and a population explosion have driven hundreds of millions of people from the countryside into the teeming squalor of Third World megalopolises. Enormous pools of cheap labor in turn attract investment. The results are workers' rights and environmental protections deci-

It is impossible to talk about how to move forward under these new conditions without acknowledging the almost complete defeat and destruction of the US Left as a serious political force. The collapse of the Soviet empire and other events of the late 1980s (the Tiananmen Square massacre and the electoral defeat of the Sandinistas to name two) drove a stake through the heart of the left. For anarchists and others who were always critical of those regimes it was perhaps comforting to see these events simply as a vindication of our criticisms. But the weaknesses of the left long preceded these events and extended well beyond the enthusiasm of the cheerleaders for the various supposedly socialist one-party police states.

democratic promises of the revolutionary movement and imposition of new forms of class rule and exploitation. The creation of a truly free society by people raised up in a profoundly unfree one inherently involves dilemmas, contradictions, and compromises that constantly threaten to reproduce the oppressive social relations we want to overthrow. This unavoidable dynamic must never be used as an excuse for the maintenance of anybody's oppression. Never again should radicals and revolutionaries become apologists for crimes against humanity committed by supposedly revolutionary regimes.

THE INTERSECTION OF STRUGGLES

The rise of the new social movements in the 1960s and 70s saw an eclipse of the idea of the proletariat -- the class of people who live only by selling their labor -- as the sole agent of revolutionary change. This simplistic notion needed to be trashed if the revolutionary movement was to seriously integrate the critiques of patriarchy and white supremacy. Such an integration was necessary to develop a coherent analysis of the proletariat which is neither mainly white nor mainly male. But the rejection of the idea of the proletariat as the sole agent of revolutionary change became an excuse for abandoning any sort of explicit class politics and consequently a capitulation to middle-class domination of the new social movements and radical politics in

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION

Finally, we have to confront the monumental task of building an international revolutionary organization. Economic and political power is increasingly wielded by international institutions like the World Trade Organization, the European Union, transnational corporations, and the IMF. A crucial element in the politics of the Zapatistas is the understanding that they can not win what they are fighting for if their struggle is confined to Mexico and for that reason building a worldwide movement is more important than attempting to seize state power immedi-



The new social movements (racial and ethnic movements, women's liberation, queer liberation, ecological struggles) that emerged from the upheavals of the 1960s dramatically challenged the economic reductionism of the old left. To its credit anarchism has responded, however unevenly, most seriously to these challenges. But these movements have also manifestly failed to advance a coherent vision of new and better society or any sort of coherent basis for an effective political unity among the oppressed. The various currents of ethnic politics have progressively narrowed and became more reactionary since the late 60s when they were seen as constituent parts of a multi-ethnic assault on imperialism. With a few exceptions and a lot of agonizing over it the women's movement and the queer movement have remained dominated by predominantly white and middle-class organizations.

REVOLUTIONARY POLITICS FOR THE 21ST CENTURY

Events around the world attest to the immense resistance to the policies of neo-liberalism, and therefore immense potential for the creation of a new revolutionary movement. But such a movement can not come about without a coherent analysis of the new conditions, an understanding of the general failure of the politics of the past, a vision of new society, and a plausible (if tentative) plan of action to bring it about -- a new revolutionary politics for the next century. There are some signs of work on this front (the intercontinental initiatives of the Zapatistas are for the moment the most significant). There are a few principles that should inform the development of these new politics that I believe clearly flow from the new situation. I offer these only as a starting point for creating a framework for our ideas.

ANTI-AUTHORITARIANISM

Justifications for the authoritarian practices of supposedly revolutionary regimes in the past must now be categorically rejected. The 20th century has demonstrated the efficiency with which energetic police states can transform backward peasant economies into bureaucracy-ridden semi-industrialized societies in the name of socialism. In every single instance the reliance on the state as the main instrument for the transformation of social relations has only resulted in the degeneration of the

It is by now banal to state that all forms of oppression are connected and therefore so are the struggles against them. But it is no less true. We need to analyze concretely how the different systems of oppression (patriarchy, capitalism, white supremacy, etc...) intersect and reinforce each other and, occasionally, undermine each other. There is no getting around the need for exhaustive empirical investigations of actual social conditions.

It is too simplistic to say that we shouldn't prioritize one form of oppression over another. Making revolution means having strategic and political priorities. Some people are in fact more oppressed than others and some struggles more readily undermine authoritarian society than others. In fact it is precisely struggles that take place at the intersections between different systems of oppression that are most threatening to the totality of oppression. Such struggles defy reductive analyses and they raise concretely the question of how to build alliances among different oppressed groups. Consequently they push forward the practical and theoretical development of the movement. So white middle-class feminists who take up the fight against "welfare reform" are creating potential new lines of

general. The domination of various movements by men or white people can not be disentangled from the absence of explicitly proletarian politics.

The struggle of the proletariat is as central to the overthrow of capitalism as the struggle of women is to the overthrow of patriarchy and the struggle of people of color is to the overthrow of white supremacy. Taking a clear class stand should in no way imply subordinating the fight against patriarchy or the fight against white supremacy, nor should it imply a simplistic politics that doesn't recognize the role of other social classes (the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie, professionals) in the struggle. Of the two major oppressed classes, the proletariat and the peasantry, the proletariat is uniquely the product of capitalism and is uniquely positioned to smash it. At any rate in the US the alternative to a proletarian orientation isn't a peasant orientation but some sort of middle-class orientation.

A proletarian orientation must mean a commitment to rooting our movement and our organizations in the working class. In the US where radical movements and organizations are generally middle class in orientation (if not always in composition) this means

ately in Mexico. The developments that constitute the rise of neo-liberalism underline the basic fact that capitalism can not be overthrown in any single country or region unless it is overthrown everywhere. Hard as it is to imagine given the current weakness of organized revolutionary forces, humanity has no hope except world revolution. This requires global revolutionary organization. The initiatives of the Zapatistas in this area (represented by the Intercontinental Encuentro Against Neo-Liberalism and for Humanity) are the most significant moves towards the eventual creation of revolutionary organizations that can carry out coordinated struggles on a global scale. There need to be other such initiatives. There are enormous obstacles to the construction of such organizations. This means that we must develop a thorough analysis of the international systems we are up against and of the different forms that resistance to those systems take in different countries. It also means that we have to continue the arduous process of building up concrete international solidarity between existing groups to lay the foundations for eventually building solid international organizations.

Neo-liberalism places new demands on the revolutionary movement, but it is also creating new opportunities. The possibility for linking up people in struggles that previously would not even have been aware of each other is a profound threat to the rule of international capital. Any local struggle could capture the imagination of people around the world. A demonstration in Atlanta, a strike in Armenia, a riot in Algeria could spark sympathy actions in the most remote corners of the world. This threat is greatly amplified by the creation of organizations that have spreading struggles around the globe as their primary purpose. We have entered a new period. The world is radically different than it was even 10 years ago. The old left is in a state of complete collapse. It is the responsibility of young revolutionaries



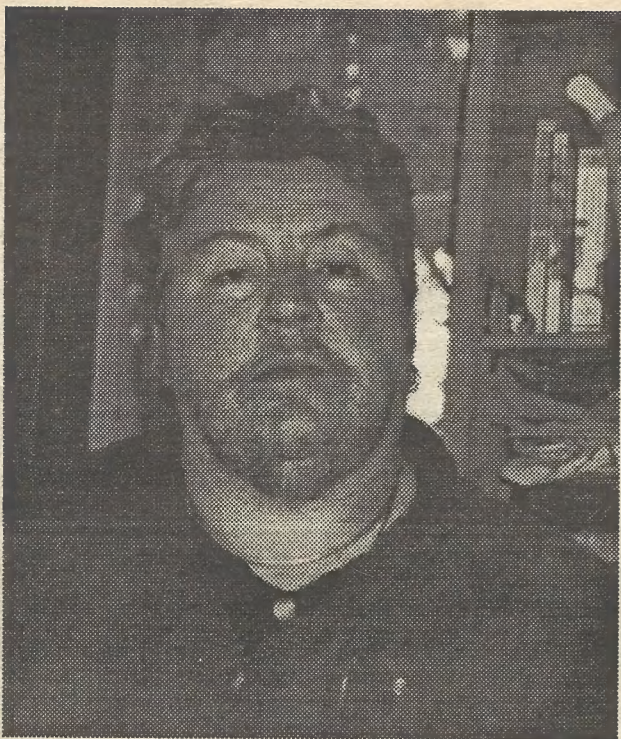
Residents of Tepoztlán took over this municipal building last April to protest the privatization of communal lands.

alliance (with poor women of color) that those who concentrate on breaking through the "glass ceiling" into the higher reaches of corporate management are not.

PROLETARIAN ORIENTATION

developing a coherent analysis of the class structure of the US and the particular character of the US working class and making decisions about where we live and where we work in light of this analysis. Making these decisions individually rather than collectively generally favors self-interest over politics.

(and of those revolutionary-minded people who have not been demoralized by the defeats of the past) to experiment with new forms of struggle and to formulate a new revolutionary and anti-authoritarian politics in response to the new conditions that now face humanity.★



Interview with Bo Brown

(Continued from page 11)

was there because Assatta had escaped from New Jersey and they had to punish someone.) i spent about two years there and it was another small group isolation. When you are in those intense situations you become really intense. So i actually had someone visiting me when this little article came out and so i said, 'i want to respond to that,' so i wrote an outline and the woman who was visiting me worked with me for three days and then she took it and sent it out and they printed it. For like six months after that there was a discus-

sion in the feminist press about the issue of armed struggle. This was a good thing.

So that kind of support is always good. And visitors. i'm pretty desperate. i'll take almost anyone for a visitor sometimes, you know what i mean? And i have. i know that i need input, whatever that is, even if i get sick of you and just want to say fuck you, at least that's input. i used to do that with phone calls too i'd have 2-3 people at a time that i could just call up—at that time you could make collect calls. (Some federal prisoners must now pay for all their phone calls.) i would call people up and just ask them to tell me what they had for breakfast—anything. But that means money—they had to pay for those phone calls. That's one thing to keep in mind.

Political prisoners, usually have more material privilege, at least the white ones do because they have access to more money within their support networks. Oh yeah, letters, letters are very important and books. Or subscriptions, for a while i got a subscription to the New York Times. If you are visiting political prisoners, they are some of the most intense people in the world. Don't wear your feelings on your sleeve. You should just leave them at home, you can deal with it when you get there

The prisons are so over crowded now. When i first went to prison it was at 75%, eight years later it was at 120%—now it's at 165% capacity. That means that at Dublin a room or a cell that had one prisoner now has three. So they got beds wall to wall. That's why they start limiting property, 'cause there is no place to put anything. Women at Dublin are no longer allowed their own clothes. They now wear military-style khaki uniforms. Overcrowding leads to that, that is their excuse to take property away, to take privilege away. That's their excuse to take everything away. And it also drives you crazy. It increases the violence, especially among men. Men are horrible to each other. That is how they are conditioned. It's not the same with women. Women become more depressed, more internalized. They cut their wrists, and more of that kind of stuff because we are socialized to internalize our shit. We don't need them to beat us up, we do it ourselves.

Living in a prison is like living in a war zone, especially for men. All of us suffer from post-traumatic shock, even if we pretend that we don't. That is true. Sometimes i think i'm over it, but i'm not.

L&R -- What are you doing now?

BB -- i've been out of prison for eleven years. i work with Out of Control Lesbian Committee to Support Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. We're about to have our 10th Birthday. We produce a newsletter called Out of Time (see address on page 8). i work on the Norma Jean Croy Defense Committee and i work a 40-hour regular job. And what i want people to do is realize there are political prisoners in this country. They've all been in prison for at least twelve years and up to 25 plus. There are African American brothers on the East Coast who have been in jail for more than 25 years. There are also the MOVE prisoners from Philadelphia. Some of them have very little material support. The War Chest Program of the ABC Federation is taking on very important work in that area.**

It's time we build a real campaign to get these guys out of jail. How much is enough? We need to get our people out of jail. We need to learn about control units and how they destroy human beings. We have to fight the death penalty.

This cannot be the greatest society on any planet if it locks up more and kills more of its people than any society on any planet. South Africa is offering immunity to war criminals, Italy freed prisoners who committed political assassination of its prime minister. But we still have people locked up for 25 years. The only other European country that holds its prisoners as long is Germany and there is a direct connection there. The US has taken techniques like sensory deprivation and its models for prisons and control units from the Nazi era.

The campaign around Mumia Abu-Jamal as well as the incredible rising cost of prison has created a broader base of people looking into what prisons are. There's even a new abolitionist movement. We need to fertilize and help that movement grow. We need to educate, talk about, think about prisons in this country to create awareness about political prisoners, prisoners of war and all prisoners and about the inhumanity of the masters of unreason.★

*Seattle and the Northwest in general has a rich labor history. The area was a stronghold for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the site for many memorable events including the 1916 massacre in Everett, WA and the 1919 Seattle general strike when labor ran the city for almost a week.

**The War Chest program can be contacted through New Jersey ABC, PO Box 8532, Paterson, NJ 07508-8532.

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Silvia Baraldini

(Continued from page 8)

This state of affairs has pushed many of the political prisoners who seek release into the arms of the parole board. I have resisted this step for many years because of the many initiatives on my behalf in Italy and because the parole board, an arm of the U.S. government, has been singularly unresponsive to the individuals who have appeared before it.

Now, after many discussions with individuals on both sides of the Atlantic, I have concluded that this is the time for me to see the Parole Board. Sometime in 1997, I will appear before the board and ask to be immediately paroled to the deportation order which will return me to Italy. I have reached this decision because not to do so would imply tacit agreement with my continued incarceration. While I have always accepted my individual responsibility, after fifteen years, I feel that I have paid any debt that I might have had to society.

What do I mean by repaying my debt to society? I have already served over fourteen years in prison for conduct which for a social prisoner would have resulted in parole under the guidelines after at most 52 months incarceration. At the time of my appeal, the appellate court called the sufficiency of the evidence against me "a close question." If this conduct had been committed in Italy, I would have been living free a decade ago.

Personally, it is very important for me to focus on the future, to rebuild a life in my own country with my family. Going to the board is taking another step toward this goal. I write to ask all of you to support my request for immediate deportation by writing to the board and by contributing funds to the campaign. Your support is essential. Meeting the board without the backing of a large number of supporters is futile. In closing I thank all of you for your past and present solidarity not only to myself but to all political prisoners.★

The date of Silvia's parole hearing has been extended until July and the deadline for letters is May 15. Financial support is needed to help defray legal costs, postage and printing. Make checks to Committee to Return Silvia Baraldini to Italy (CRSBI).

All letters should be addressed to:
Commissioner John R. Simpson
US Parole Commission
5550 Friendship Blvd., Suite 420
Chevy Chase, MD 20815

but mailed to her attorney:
Elizabeth Fink, Esq.
294 Atlantic Avenue
Brooklyn, NY 11201

For more information contact:
Committee to Return Silvia Baraldini to Italy
3543 18th St. San Francisco, CA 94110
PO Box 021140, Brooklyn, NY 11202

Mumia Abu-Jamal

(Continued from page 8)

recently made a new arrangement to air commentaries through the Pacifica network's nationally-syndicated program "Democracy Now." In response Temple University cancelled "Democracy Now," and consequently 12 stations in Pennsylvania, Delaware, and southern New Jersey that got their programming through Temple's station no longer air the show. In one day "Democracy Now" lost a third of its broadcast outlets.

This last bit of news is actually good. New legal papers were filed March 10 requesting an evidentiary hearing to present testimony from yet another new witness, a former police informant and government witness. Like Veronica Jones before her, the new witness, Cynthia White, claims to have been the victim of threats by the police to identify Mumia as the shooter of Officer Faulkner. White was the chief prosecution witness in the State's case against Mumia. The new legal papers also call for the release of all prosecution files in support of Mumia's petition demanding dismissal of the charges against him in light of the record of widespread police and prosecutorial misconduct in his case.★

For further information: (215) 476-8812, or: Int'l Concerned Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, PO Box 19709, Philly, PA 19143.

Zapatista Women

(Continued from page 4)

have theirs taken out because having another mouth to feed is a more frightening prospect than their own imperiled health. Taking these considerations into account, the encampment has undertaken the project of gaining access to birth control that will be of use to the women of the community.

For those of us in North America who find inspiration and hope in the struggle and the message of the Zapatistas, projects such as the Martyrs of Chicago Anarchist

Encampment give us a way to participate in the creation of a new way of being in the world. The Encampment was not created to aid the "poor peasants" in a paternalistic fashion. Rather, the encampment was created, in part, to find new ways of offering solidarity that break with the traditional relations between indigenous and non-indigenous people in Mexico. The struggles against patriarchy, in particular around issues of reproductive health and the unequal division of labor, are not foreign to women in North America. Working with and learning from the struggles of Zapatista women is an integral part of anarchists' struggle to build a better world.★

For more information about the
Martyrs of Chicago Anarchist Encampment:
Spirit of Magon Direct Solidarity Committee
P.O. Box 1831, New York, NY, 10021-0048
(212) 252-4996

Some Mother's Son

(Continued from page 12)

Quigley's eyes, and challenges those committed to the struggle to think about the choices faced by nonaligned people as they live through a war that seems unending.

At one point when Mrs. Quigley gives Annie Higgins a driving lesson, and they get stuck in the sand, Annie is forced to consider that the British soldiers who help them might be more than just cardboard oppressors. But Mrs. Quigley doesn't seem to see things so easily from Annie Higgins' point of view. She doesn't seem to understand why Annie is afraid of British sol-

diers, unnerved in a Loyalist (Protestant's living in the North of Ireland loyal to the British crown) bar, or why not everyone has the choice to send their children to college. Mrs. Quigley's sense of entitlement—that she and her family deserve not to be affected by traumas of war is only implied by the filmmakers. Both the Mrs. Higgins and Mrs. Quigley characters develop deeper understanding of the war's complexity by the end of the film. But it remains unclear whether Mrs. Quigley understands that for the majority of Irish Catholics, ignoring the occupation is out of the question. As the final hours of both mother's sons near, Mrs. Quigley and Mrs. Higgins must decide if they will intervene after their sons lose consciousness, as is their right under the law. The film loses some of its complexity when it manipulates the actual chronology of the historic strike negotiations to deliver a powerful but simplified ending.★

Croy Released

(Continued from page 1)

they arrived at their grandfather's cabin, the police began chasing them. The police fired shots, hitting her cousin as he stood up to surrender, and Norma Jean in the back. Norm's brother, Hooty, was also shot in the back twice before he turned around and fired one shot, which struck an officer in the heart.

In 1979, Norma Jean and her companions were charged with first-degree murder of a police officer which typically carries a much higher sentence than first-degree murder of a civilian. Norm and her brother were convicted, even though there was no evidence that Norma Jean fired any weapon. Hooty was sentenced to death; Norma Jean to life in prison.

In 1985, Hooty's conviction was reversed by the California Supreme Court. Norma Jean's appeal was denied by a lower court. In his 1990 retrial, Hooty was acquitted of the murder and related charges on the grounds of self-defense. The trial judge stated, "...had Norma Jean Croy been tried in the case I heard, she would have been found not guilty."

In 1994 Norma Jean was denied parole for the sixth time; the parole board refused to hear evidence of her innocence that had been presented at Hooty's trial.

HOW HER RELEASE WAS WON

In the spring of 1996, after much struggle by her lawyers, the Federal Magistrate granted an evidentiary hearing, to see if she had been given a fair trial in the first place.

Then Clinton signed the anti-terrorism bill, which severely limited state prisoners' rights to appeal in federal court. The attorney general claimed that Norma Jean did not meet the new criteria for a federal appeal and so her case ground to a halt. After more pressure from Norma Jean's lawyers, the attorney

agreed to withdraw the issue of the anti-terrorism bill if Norma Jean would agree to not have an evidentiary hearing but instead allow the magistrate judge to decide the issue based only on the papers submitted.

Eventually this is exactly what happened. Then in November there was a status conference with Norma Jean's lawyers, the attorney general and the magistrate judge. At that time the judge said he didn't need to see any more papers and that he was willing to sign an order saying that her convictions were to be overturned based on the issues, such as that she had poor counsel at her first trial, there was evidence that was never submitted, etc. Yahoo!

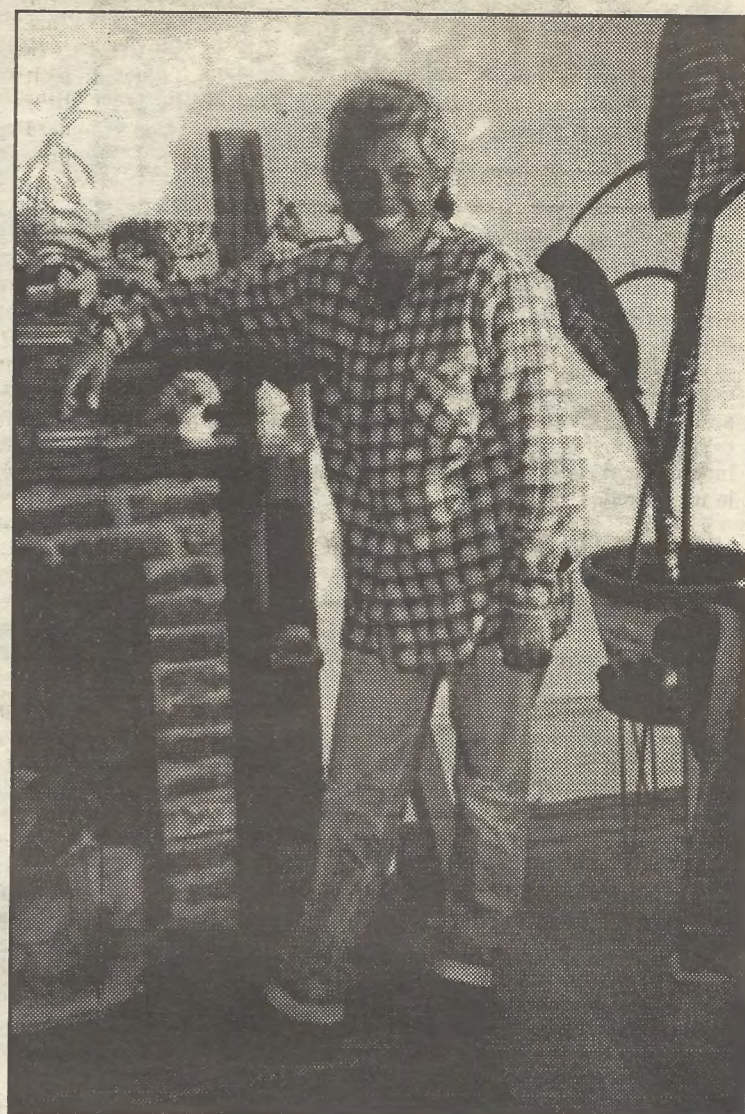
ON THE EDGE OF OUR SEATS

By December 4 the magistrate Judge and the senior Judge had signed the order. Then it was just a waiting game. The attorney general had 30 days (until January 6) to decide if he was going to go back on his word and the district attorney in Siskiyou County had 60 days (until February 3) to decide if they wanted to retry Norma Jean.

Well those days have come and gone and on February 5 the District Attorney faxed Norma Jean's lawyer a letter saying that he did not intend to retry her. The rest is history!

Congratulations to Norma Jean and the Defense Committee for enduring almost two decades of stress, endless paper work, bureaucracy, fundraising, public awareness, and injustice—all to get to this defining moment in history. We honor your hard work and fortitude, because this is one of the few instances of justice for Indigenous peoples—thank you for all your incredible work and strong spirit!★

This article drew heavily from reports in Planet Peace and Out of Time.



Defense Committee Now a SUPPORT Committee

(Continued from page 1)

all prisoners, especially for those who have done more than five years. There is a cumulative slow death process aimed at destroying the human soul perpetrated by the injustice system. The longer you're inside the more you feel that. The returning soul needs lots of space, all kinds of support, understanding, TLC and clarity of boundaries.★



The Norma Jean Croy Defense Committee has now become a SUPPORT Committee and we are encouraging you to donate to Norm's Adjustment Fund. Checks to support Norma Jean can be made out to the Defense Committee.

If you are in the Bay Area, there will be a benefit March 21st at the Defense Committee's office, where you can also send donations: NJC Support Committee, Pier 5, San Francisco, CA 94111



Norm at one of her welcoming parties (above). Adjusting to her new home (upper right corner).

UDC Struggle

(Continued from page 1)

working class people of color who have nowhere else to go. And UDC did do this. The current talk of UDC's miserable failure and institutional chaos is certainly true, but it does not take into account the simultaneous accomplishments that UDC enabled. UDC ranks fifth among 117 historically black colleges and universities in total number of bachelor's degrees awarded annually, and ranks among the top ten universities in bachelor's degrees awarded in science and engineering to African Americans. UDC ranks tenth among all institutions in the country in the number of minority female graduates who have gone on to earn a PhD.

UDC CUTS IN CONTEXT

The cuts at UDC, while more dramatic, are similar to cuts to public colleges that educate working class people all over the US. For example, at the City University of New York (CUNY), ever since the city's Black and Latino populations began to populate CUNY, the city has continually raised tuition and cut services and departments. This year a \$400 tuition increase and other aid cuts have been proposed, as part of a longer-term plan to restructure CUNY and destroy its mission of educating the working class and poor people of New York. The same process has been at work at UDC, on almost the exact same timeline. But since DC has such a smaller population than New

York, and since DC is so overshadowed by the federal government, the efforts to dismantle UDC have come to their logical conclusion more quickly than at CUNY.

It is difficult to imagine New York City without a public, open admissions college. This is what the people of DC are facing. It is a situation that no other state or area in the country faces. Even states with smaller populations than the District of Columbia have multiple public colleges. For example, Wyoming has a population of 480,000 people and has one public 4-year college and seven 2-year institutions. Vermont has 585,000 people and has five public 4-year institutions. North Dakota, with only 100,000 more people than DC, has six public 4-year colleges and nine 2-year colleges. The difference is that the residents of DC are mostly poor, mostly Black, and almost totally disenfranchised.

THE UDC STUDENT MOVEMENT

A new student movement is developing at UDC. The main organization is called UDC/A+ Student Wing—it is the student branch of a faculty- and community-based UDC advocacy group. The student movement includes members of revolutionary organizations such as the International Socialist Organization (ISO) and All African Peoples Revolutionary Party (AAPRP) as well as previously unorganized students. The "adult group," UDC/A+, encourages lobbying the city council and control board to save UDC. These tactics are so obviously obsolete and ineffective in the face of the powerlessness of the DC government. The current situation cries out for something new, for something self-organized and



powerful. Students have taken more direct action, demonstrating on MLK Day and disrupting a Trustees meeting the next month.

Today's student movement at UDC is the largest movement at UDC since the 1990 Kiamsha movement took over buildings, shut down the school, and won all 42 of their demands for student power within the university, the resignation of unaccountable trustees, curriculum changes, and the like. The 1990 Kiamsha movement, whose name is Swahili for 'that which wakes you up,' was successful because it mobilized the support of the overwhelming majority of UDC students, and even forced Mayor Barry to publicly support them, even though he

had appointed all of the trustees who the students were demanding to resign. The Kiamsha movement was an Afrocentric, though multiracial movement—most students at UDC are Black but there were also white and Latino people involved in the building takeovers.

THE KIAMSHA MOVEMENT

The 1990 Kiamsha movement arose in opposition to ridiculous spending choices by trustees and as UDC's accreditation was being called into question. This situation was serious, but the financial situation wasn't as serious as today—UDC was able to grant the students demands for new programs in curriculum, administration, and athletics. Today, these types of reform demands are not even possible. The District's budget is no longer controlled by Mayor Barry—the federal control board will not allow UDC's budget to even hold steady, let alone fund new initiatives. Support for today's student movement from District politicians is meaningless. There are no local politicians who have any power to help the students—the decisions are effectively left to the unaccountable control board. The only effective road is to raise the political and social costs of cutting UDC. Unless the majority of UDC students are mobilized to militantly demand their future, and unless they are willing and able to raise the political costs of shutting down UDC—there will be no educational future for the youth of DC. The situation is stark, but there is also opportunity for the development of an independent student movement that will fight for the future generations of young people in DC.★

Zapatistas

(Continued from page 1)

February of 1996. Both parties agreed to entrust the drafting of a constitutional proposal on indigenous rights to the Commission on Concordance and Pacification (Cocopa), which is made up senators and federal deputies from all the political parties represented in the Congress of the Union. In November of 1996, the Cocopa presented a proposal to the EZLN and the Mexican government with the explanation that it was a final document intended either to be accepted or rejected in its entirety.

GOVERNMENT VOTES NO ON PEACE

On November 30 the Zapatistas accepted the Cocopa proposal as a valid constitutional reform initiative. Even though it lacked many of the elements included in the February Agreements, the EZLN made no modifications out of respect of the Cocopa process. The Mexican government took a different tack and, ignoring the Cocopa, delivered a counter-proposal to their constitutional reform initiative. The CCRI-CG (the Clandestine Indigenous Revolutionary Committee-General Command, the democratic body which directs the policy of the EZLN) declared that the Government's counter-proposal "represents a resounding 'NO' to the proposal made by the Cocopa, ignores the San Andres Accords signed by its delegation in February of 1996, attempts to renegotiate from scratch all of the first round on 'Indigenous Rights and Culture,' and it ratifies the lack of seriousness and the irresponsibility of the federal government in the search for a peaceful solution to the just demands of the EZLN."

The government specifically differs on the issue of autonomy, a principle at the core of the Indigenous communities' concerns. According to Adelfo Regino Montes, a well-known Mixe intellectual from Oaxaca and representative of the National Indigenous Congress, the "autonomy" recognized in the Cocopa's proposal simply means "the Constitution will guarantee that

an indigenous community be recognized as a subject of public right, that the community be allowed to define its development plans for itself....and that mechanisms be created in order to insure that the community receives the resources which the municipality should be giving it but which almost never arrive."

FORCE AND FRAUD

The Mexican government has showed little interest in pursuing a peaceful solution to the crisis in Chiapas or in Mexican civil society as a whole and no interest in pursuing a just solution to the demands of the Zapatistas. This latest crisis is even further evidence of this fact. Fear, not diplomacy, are the tactics of the Mexican state—the increased repression serves as a tacit admission of the political weakness of the government. The PRI's one-party dictatorship has remained in power for almost the entire century through force and fraud. This course is unlikely to change in response to this latest threat to its rule.

READYING A SURGICAL STRIKE

The military movements have succeeded in intimidating Zapaptista communities. The troop movements have raised fears of a coming military assault and many indigenous families are afraid to leave their houses to collect wood and cultivate their fields.

The government is seeking to reinforce the military siege so as to politically and geographically isolate the EZLN, up to the point in which it considers the conditions ripe so as to carry out a "surgical strike" against the Zapatista command. The government is betting that by cornering the Zapatistas, taking from them their public voice and their contacts with Mexican society, that the moment will come in which society will decide that the problems of the indigenous peoples are secondary, and then the political and social conditions will be ripe for carrying out the military strike. The government is betting on the political and military annihilation of the EZLN.

The Zapatistas, however, plan to stand firm. "We are not going to fall into provocations," reassured Commandate Guillermo of the CCRI-CG. "We will not undertake

80s were witness to strong single-issue movements like the peace and anti-nuclear power movements in which the radical and militant left played an important role. The question of militance: whether the US military airport near Frankfurt Startbahn West should be attacked or if the demonstration should remain outside of the construction site; or if the forest where a nuclear power plant was to be built should be occupied or not, were questions that split the movement. The degree to which each of these single issues was connected to a broader leftist struggle was another point of contention within the coalition between autonomists, communist groups, peaceniks, environmentalists, and other reformist or mainstream groups. The state used this disunity to force splits within the movement and to isolate the "dangerous elements": the groups that had a critique of the system itself and took direct action against it. The state used the media, legal repression and police harassment against the radical left.

THE ANTI-FASCIST MOVEMENT

This was the context in 1990: the left was at its weakest point in years and the media and the state were celebrating "the end of history" and the triumph of capitalism. In the first part of the 1990s neo-Nazis became more active and more brutal. In 1992 and 1993 the international media was filled with reports of fire-bombings of refugee homes. The towns of Solingen, Rostock, and Molln became known as sites of pogroms from murderous racist mobs. The daily terror from neo-Nazis increased as well. Homeless people and leftists were often the target of attacks from fascists.

This is one reason that the anti-fascist movement grew so suddenly and so intensely in the early 90s. Many people were personally affected by the fascist terror and started organizing anti-fascist self-help defense groups.

Another reason is that a large part of the population, even those who were not immediately threatened, felt solidarity with the victims. Most of the population in the FRG is not open to leftist ideas and politics. But if people are at all sympathetic to progressive ideas it is on the issue of anti-fascism. Condemnation of historical fas-

cutting budgets for cultural and art projects, etc. The infrastructure that the left and much of the population relied on: social welfare, free education, and the so-called Freiraum—free space—to just name a few examples, is disappearing.

SINGLE-ISSUE STRUGGLES

The radical left itself drifted more and more into isolation throughout the 1980s. The



Autonome Antifa (M) member plays capitalist at market square in Göttingen

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any military movements, and neither have we prepared to go into the mountains...Ever since Zedillo's document was rejected the patrols have increased; perhaps they think that we are now moving with that rejection, but no, no one is moving, we are waiting for the government's reaction. If they are thinking of attacking us, well, then, we aren't going to stand here with our arms crossed. When they attack, we'll attack back..." Guillermo concluded that the Zapatista were prepared for whatever the government chooses: war or peace. "The Zapatistas don't want war...no one wants war, only the government. And it will have it if that's what it wants."

A CALL TO ACTION

The Zapatistas are calling on the international community to step up its support work for the EZLN and to pressure the Mexican government for a recognition of the Agreements on Indigenous rights that it signed in February of 1996 and for a just and dignified peace. On January 13th

Subcomandante Insurgente Marcos wrote, "We know that we cannot do it alone, that as in other occasions the banner that we are raising is too large for us alone, but we also know that this banner is for all of humanity and against neo-liberalism, and that our triumph or our defeat will also be the triumph or defeat of the social forces which struggle against neo-liberalism in the world."

Diverse political and social organizations, among them the National Indigenous Congress and the Zapatista Front of National Liberation (FZLN), have begun an information and mobilization campaign to demand that the Mexican government honor its word as written in the San Andres Accords. In the past the Mexican state has responded to international protest, even while ignoring it at home. For this reason the FZLN is calling for international solidarity, for people around the world to demand that the Mexican government rectify its decisions and permit the Mexican people to continue the peace process.★

cism and fascist terror is more or less a consensus position in FRG society. This is generally connected to a rejection of violence altogether and coupled with the "totalitarianism theory" which argues that violence from fascists and militant left actions are equally bad and should be equally condemned.

Because of the sensitivity to fascism in the population, the media shows interest in the fascist attacks and, to a certain degree, in anti-fascist resistance.

ANTI-FASCISM AND REVOLUTION

These are some of the reasons that the Autonome Antifa (M) was founded in 1990. The question we asked was not just what is important or where are we most confronted with manifestations of an exploitative system. Fighting fascism, struggling against patriarchy and racism, and supporting liberation struggles from comrades in other countries are all important. The question is not what has moral priority, but rather what makes sense at this time, in this situation in society and within the left, and with the capacity that we have.

In a struggle for liberation it is important to break out of the isolation that currently plagues the revolutionary left. Doing anti-fascist work is not just necessary in order to protect ourselves from the neo-Nazis. Anti-fascism is now at the point where it is most possible to bring a broader spectrum in contact with radical positions. The coalition demonstrations in southern Lower Saxony, organized by the Autonome Antifa (M) with youth and student groups, with labor unions, and parts of the Green and Social Democratic Party, were so successful because they brought together diverse anti-fascist positions and forms of action and transported these positions into the general population.

This meant that the Antifa (M)'s analysis — that the social roots of fascism within the capitalist system have to be attacked in order to effectively fight fascism — was spread well beyond the confines of the left scene. These demonstrations strengthened the position of the Antifa (M) so that our other actions, info-nights on anti-patriarchy, street theater pieces on repression and nationalism, etc. were greeted with sympathy.

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ELITISM?

Greetings,

I read Chris Day's piece "Revolutionary Anarchist Tradition," and I'm extremely disturbed that Day would compare/ally Love and Rage with Friends of Durruti, putting forward a "revolutionary junta." The classic question that needs to be asked is how do we know that such a "junta" will peacefully give up power to the masses? They never have in the past. I challenge Day to defend this position further and the viability of this strategy. There are real problems with anti-organizational tendencies among anarchists, I'm sure. Still, there is a difference between "anti-organizational tendencies" and principled criticism. Many anarchists, not just anti-organizational ones, were critical of The Platform. Despite this, Day fails to address these legitimate criticisms in his piece.

Another position Day fails to address or even really explain is his (and The Platform's) contention, that only the most committed, wonderful, great, best, etc. anarchists will be drawn to the revolutionary anarchist organization, again my question is why? How is this so?

To me, frankly, this sounds like a variation on the idea of vanguard-maybe not vanguard to lead, but never the less vanguard-an organization of only "the best and the brightest." No matter what such an organization seeks to do-lead or participate as equals-it rightfully deserves the label of elitism. Organizations of the 'best and brightest' separate themselves from the rest of us—the majority of us. Anarchists have been fighting elitism in the form of Marxism since practically its inception. Unfortunately anarchists have often fallen victim themselves to this tendency e.g. certain currents during the 'propaganda of the deed' era. I sincerely hope Love and Rage doesn't become yet another victim of these ideas.

Another part of the article which offended me was Day's statement that, oddly, after the Russian revolution, anarchists, became more wary of "organizational" socialism in action! They saw Lenin create a vanguard party and the apparatus of the state to repress anarchism.

Lastly I'd just like to recommend Paul Avrich's essay on Makhno to Chris Day. Makhno did not operate his army democratically with a decentralized structure of some sort. His army was run along the lines of basic, sometimes harsh, military discipline. The essay on Makhno is in *Anarchist Portraits* a book of essays by Avrich.

Solidarity,
Thano Paris

P.S. I read a Chris Day piece "Anarchy in the USA" in the international issue of the CUNY *Spheric* newspaper. Cool article; I liked it. Day neglects to mention that charging police lines is dangerous shit perhaps not worth dying for though!

CHRISTOPHER DAY RESPONDS

First, in Spanish the word "junta" just means committee. Its frequent use to describe groups of military officers after military coups in Latin America has led to its association in the minds of English readers with a particularly authoritarian form of military rule. A better translation of Towards a Fresh Revolution would have used "Revolutionary Committee" instead of "Revolutionary Junta." The important thing to emphasize is that the Friends of Durruti were arguing for a democratically elected body drawn from the various working-class organizations as a counter power to the Republican state and not for a self-appointed group of rulers. How do I know such a committee would have given up power? I don't and maybe it wouldn't have. That would depend a lot on how strong and politically mature the workers organizations were on the ground. What I do know is that the failure of the Spanish anarchists to establish revolutionary dual power beyond the local level doomed the Spanish Revolution.

Second, there are plenty of legitimate criticisms that can be made of the Platformists, but their views on organization were a step forward for the anarchist movement. There are lots of anarchists who are "pro-organization" in theory but whose ideas are so disconnected from the practical considerations involved in building an organization that they are unable to build effective

working organizations larger than an affinity group or local collective. Anarchist history is littered with failed federations that have come crashing down over the most rudimentary questions of organization. Even the FAI was seriously hampered in this way. The Platformists attempted to confront these problems head on in a way that few, if any, of their critics did.

Third, making revolution requires serious commitment on the part of revolutionaries. Revolutionary organizations that do not demand such commitment from their members and that don't seek to win over people with such commitment will be weak organizations ill-prepared for the demands of actually overthrowing this rotten authoritarian system we live under. Paris is correct that such organizations are prone to elitism. Such tendencies have to be fought, but the danger of making mistakes can't be an excuse for not building the kind of organization that can actually survive repression and smash the state. There is no such thing as a risk-free, sure-fire strategy for anarchist revolution.

Fourth, of course the experience of the Russian Revolution should make people think critically about questions of organization. But eighty years later why is the anarchist movement just as disorganized as it was in the 1920s?

Fifth, I don't doubt that Makhno's army was far from a perfect model of anti-authoritarian organization. The original Ukrainian anarchist military organization, the "free battalions," run on the decentralist principles Paris advocates, were a complete disaster. In contrast the Makhnochina were able to establish and militarily defend the space in which the Ukrainian peasantry could begin the experiment with libertarian communism. Wars are authoritarian things and the idea that they can be won by loose, decentralized and undisciplined organizations has no basis in historical experience. Anarchists have to confront that ugly fact and decide whether to take the risks that Makhno was willing to take.

Finally, my purpose in writing "The Revolutionary Anarchist Tradition" was not to uphold Makhno, the Platformists or the Friends of Durruti as faultless exemplars of the one true path of revolutionary anarchism. Rather it was to look at those anarchists who have historically sought to seriously grapple with some of the knottier questions of making anti-authoritarian revolution in an authoritarian world. As far as I'm concerned none of them came up with satisfactory answers to those problems, but by making the first attempts, they demonstrated a courage and a willingness to critically re-examine their ideas in the light of experience that the anarchist movement as a whole has not shared. If anarchism is to pose a serious challenge to the authoritarian status quo in the 21st century we will have to learn from them.

FOR A WORKING-CLASS REVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

Dear L&R,

I've been getting your paper through Barricade Books here in Melbourne for a while now. It seems to be improving with every issue, but I would still like to make some comments all the same.

The last *Love & Rage* I saw was the August/September issue, which seemed to be packed mostly with anti-fascist/anti-racist articles. It is good to read those kinds of articles, and especially so from the point of view of being in another country on the other side of the globe (the only time we ever see America on the news is when there's a flood or a snowstorm or Gingrich gets re-elected, etc), but what seems to be lacking, and obviously so, is any kind of serious discussion of work-related issues — the principle one being self-managed production.

Love & Rage appears to be one of the most prominent US Anarchist publications, so it is of some concern that this aspect of Anarchism is neglected as much as it appears to be (and not just because that's what I personally like to read about).

I get the impression that *Love & Rage* distances itself from work-related issues because it is not a specifically Anarcho-Syndicalist paper, or that it is not a union paper, or whatever, and that because the Love and Rage Federation is not an Anarcho-Syndicalist organisation, the editorial group or whoever decides what goes into the paper has taken the position that it

can't have any input on Anarcho-Syndicalism or anything to do with unionism per se. Whatever the case may be, the fact that *Love & Rage* doesn't put a strong emphasis on the issue of industrial democracy and who decides what happens where, etc., or even that the words "self-management" even seldom appear within its pages, makes its claim of "Revolutionary Anarchist Paper" ring just a little hollow.

While I don't want to tell you what to do, I see no reason why *Love & Rage* couldn't make even a small attempt at formulating "the Idea" in the minds of its readership. If it was the only thing that people ever saw, I can't see how they could have much idea of what Anarchism stood for, i.e. worker self-management, full employment, four-hour day/four-day workweek, decision-making through general assemblies, industrial/geographical confederations, syndicalist/libertarian communist organisation and coordination of production/fulfillment of social needs, etc., since it seems rarely to be discussed in any kind of detail. It seems to me that if *Love & Rage* was as much of a "Revolutionary Anarchist Newspaper" as it said it was, then these would be the kind of things that it would be discussing (unless, of course, the Love & Rage Federation expects people to be able to act without having any idea of what they were for).

These comments are kind of scratchy, I guess, but what I guess I am trying to say is that the distance of Anarchism from working-class movements has been a problem before, it seems to me that this is a distinct problem of the Love & Rage newspaper, and that a lot could be done to rectify the situation. I like to read *Love & Rage*, and the fact alone that people are organised enough to be able to bring out a regular paper is definitely worthy of praise, but I think at the same time it would make a lot of difference even just from the point of view of solidarity with other Anarchists in the US and overseas, Australia and elsewhere, to focus more on central issues (Barricade Books usually seems to sell most of the copies it receives, which helps the local Anarchist groups here to grow). The more attention "the Idea" gets, obviously, the easier things are.

In Anarchist Solidarity,

Ben from Melbourne

PRISONS NOT GENOCIDAL

Dear Love and Rage:

Your Jan/Feb editorial, "Building a Movement Against Prisons," dealt with an important issue. There is some interesting new thinking at the end, about building community institutions as alternate ways of dealing with anti-social behavior by demoralized people. Unfortunately, most of the piece uses empty radical rhetoric instead of thoughtfulness. It states that the main use of prison is to control "dissent, especially from people of color." This is followed, however, by the statement that "there are over 100 political prisoners." Has the recent massive prison buildup been just to house these 100 political prisoners? Actually the big prison construction has been after the end of mass political activism in the African-American community. It is part of an attack on that community, as well as a hysterical response to the effects of weakening that community (the real rise in anti-social crimes due to the loss of jobs). But it is not primarily to silence political dissent.

The other alleged purpose of prisons is as "a genocidal attack on African-Americans." The word "genocide" was invented after World War II to have a specific meaning, the attempted killing (-cide) of a people (gen-) — like the similar words "homicide" and "suicide." It can be applied to the Nazi holocaust of the Jews, the Romany ("gypsies") and others, to the earlier Turkish mass murder of the Armenians, to white settlers' extermination attempts of Native Americans or Australian "aborigines," to "ethnic cleansing" by Serbs, and to Hutu massacres of Tutsi. These were all attempts to wipe out whole populations.

There are two reasons not to use "genocide" when speaking of the government assault on Black Americans. First, it is not true. There is no attempt to eliminate the African-American people. Despite much joblessness, Blacks still do a lot of work in our society and are useful to the capitalist

class. Nor are Blacks such a gross political threat to our rulers; most African-Americans are either politically passive (in the ways politics are usually judged) or vote Democratic. And there remains a third of the community which took advantage of the 60s and 70s liberalism to rise into the middle class or upper working class; their relative gains are under attack but not destroyed. And most white peoples' attitudes toward Blacks is conflicted and ambiguous, not (thankfully) simply racist. Note that Clinton decided to not openly reject affirmative action and the Republicans did not run on an attack on it, because there was too much opposition to such positions.

It is right to talk about the severe assault on the Black population, and even to say that the possibility of genocide has been raised—by propaganda that the poor are genetically inferior, or by the anti-immigrant propaganda that there are "too many people." But this is not current genocide.

The second reason is precisely so we can name genocidal policies when we see them. If every bad thing is genocide, what do we call mass murder of a population? This is like calling all oppression "fascism" and then being unable to distinguish among Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich, and real, genocidal, fascists. We will have to deal with them; let us not disarm ourselves ideologically.

The same rhetoric appears in Chris Day's otherwise excellent article on the CIA and crack. He writes, "...the crack trade was developed by the government as a weapon against the Black community...." There has been evidence for some time that the CIA has dealt drugs to finance its covert activities. They have not cared about the devastation they have caused. But there is no evidence that they aimed to weaken the African-American community. At most, this is speculation, not fact. Certainly neither the contras nor the simple drug dealers they worked with were ideologically driven to attack the Black community. They went where the market was and did not care about the effects. As Chris mentions, other police agencies, such as the DEA, FBI, US Customs, and others, have complained about the CIA's protection of the drug trade, which would not be the case if there were a deliberate government-wide police conspiracy. The effects have been bad enough even without a conspiracy.

In general, people tend to see conspiracies when they do not understand that there is a social system with a ruling class. There are real conspiracies, of course, but the real evils of this society are due to the system of patriarchal capitalism, with its inherent statism, racism, and sexism, not to plots.

Wayne Price

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S CONFERENCE 97



The SAC, the Swedish Workers Central Organization with host an International Conference for Anarchist, Anarchosyndicalist, and Syndicalist women in Stockholm, Sweden from August 1-5, 1997. Workshops will concern things that connect to sexual harassment, feminist self-defense, migration, etc. They are also looking for women to do workshops.

The official languages of the conference are Spanish and English. Those wishing to attend should let the organizers know if you want to do a workshop and what the topic will be. Also, participants should send a report on the situation in their country, the issues you work with in your organization and about women's general conditions in the place you live.

If you wish to visit before the conference you could meet with women active in local federations throughout Sweden. Twenty-five international guests can be accommodated. Please register by March 31. Registration confirmation, country-reports and general information will go out in May. Send registration to SAC's Women's Committee, Box 6507, S-11383 Stockholm, Sweden. Tel #: 46(8)6733559. E-Mail: international.committee@sac.se.